

## Study in the Field of Education

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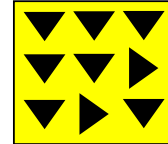
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**GERMAN NATIONAL FOCAL POINT**

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# **RAXEN 3**

## **STUDY**

## **IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION**

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## Executive Summary

This analytical study within the field of education aims to explore the *situation of migrants in the education system*. Of importance in this context are the questions as to the educational involvement and achievements of migrants, on the one hand, and the extent to which young migrants have to fight against discrimination within the field of education on the other.

In order to assess the situation of children and young people with a migrant background in the German education system, on the one hand, official education statistics were employed, in particular those of the Federal Statistical Office (*Statistisches Bundesamt*). On the other hand, recourse was made to various empirical studies. These studies, in which differentiation is not only made between nationality, but also, in part, the place of birth, with the consequence that ethnic German migrants (*Aussiedler*) or second-generation migrants, for example, could also be identified, provide results which supplement the analysis of the official statistics, but which also, in part, put them into perspective.

The central results of the analysis were as follows:

- The *quota of migrant children attending kindergartens* is slightly below that of the quota for all children. In contrast, migrant children are over-represented in pre-school facilities. The reason for this lies, above all, in the more frequent postponement of enrolment into schooling in the case of migrant children.
- Since the mid-nineties, the *participation in education* of migrant pupils at secondary and higher schools has stagnated. However, the positive trend towards *higher qualifications* continued until the end of the nineties. This development has not continued in 2000 and 2001, though. In addition, the proportion of migrant pupils at special needs schools (*Sonderschulen*) has also increased slightly since the mid-nineties. Decreases can even be determined at vocational schools and in the case of apprenticeships. Thus, the opportunities for taking up professional training or starting to study are still as poor as they were in comparison to those of German pupils. In addition, it is particularly noticeable that young migrants are underrepresented in the training for employment in the public sector, in the information and communication professions as well as in more demanding service jobs.
- The official data also continue to show that particularly Turkish and Italian pupils fare worst in the German education system. This is also confirmed by several studies carried out in the social sciences. It is important to stress that these studies come to the conclusion that the *achievements in education of the second generation* are significantly higher than those of the first generation and are also higher than those of migrant pupils in total. However, they are still low compared to those of the autochthonous young people.
- The higher the social and cultural capital of the parents (for example, the level of education of the parents or of one parent), the better are the migrant children's preconditions for successful integration into the German education system. Attending a kindergarten also has a positive effect on the educational career of migrant children. On average, those who have attended a kindergarten attain higher qualifications than those that have not attended one. In addition, there is a link between the educational career of the migrant children and the proportion of migrants in the school or in the class. This is particularly important during the decision process at the transition between the primary school and one of the secondary

school types. It is, however, unclear to what extent this can be traced back directly to the proportion of migrants or whether it is not rather related to other factors such as the cultural capital in the families, or the residential area.

- The results of the PISA study show that, especially in Germany, the connection between achievement and social background is particularly noticeable. A further analysis, however, came to the conclusion that not only the social position and cultural distance as such are primarily responsible for disparities in the participation in education, but also the competence/lack of competence in the German language. *Language deficits* cumulatively affect subjects requiring knowledge with the consequence that people with insufficient reading skills are impeded in acquiring competence in all academic fields. The results of the PISA-E study, which differentiates according to federal state, reveal that, alongside linguistic competence, the *quality of the school system in general* exerts a large influence on the school integration of children and young people.
- Young people with a non-German background are particularly disadvantaged at the *transition between school and employment*. For this reason, there is a range of measures offered at this point which aim to facilitate taking up professional training for migrants. One must differentiate between general measures (for example, assistance whilst training) on the one hand, which are aimed at helping all disadvantaged young people, but which are quantitatively especially important for young migrants. On the other hand, there are a number of special measures which solely address migrants and are thus able to deal with certain specific problems more intensively (for example, linguistic deficits).

The analysis of the situation of migrants in the education system thus shows that great differences still exist between German and migrant children and young people. However, it is methodologically very difficult to establish the extent to which the aforementioned *disparities in the educational achievements* of the various groups can be traced back to forms of discrimination or whether they are caused by determiners 'of normal social differences'. In addition to the *problem of measuring discrimination*, the *differing definitions* of the term 'discrimination' constitute a further difficulty when dealing with this topic.

Irrespective of the difficulty in measuring discrimination and the definition of discrimination, however, forms of *subjectively perceived discrimination* play a decisive role in the feelings and behaviour of migrants. Thus, migrant children and young people feel that various forms of behaviour in school are certainly discriminatory. This is confirmed, on the one hand, by information from bodies carrying out anti-discriminatory work, who repeatedly are confronted with cases of discrimination in the education system, as well as by studies in which young people with a migrant background are asked about their personal experiences of discrimination in various areas of their lives, such as in school.

In a recent study, the question was explored as to whether the different levels of attainment in education of German and migrant children possibly could be traced back to forms of *institutional discrimination*. The study came to the conclusion that discrimination can come into being in schools above all at three transitional points: during enrolment for school, when assigning a pupil to a special needs school (*Sonderschule*), and at the point of transition from primary into secondary education. The extent to which individual or institutional discrimination is involved here is not sufficiently apparent from the study, however. The methodological procedure of this approach must be developed further in this respect.

Whilst there are only a few official statistical data available regarding instances of xenophobia in schools, a number of empirical studies have concerned themselves with the topic of *xenophobia in schools*. The results of these studies show that xenophobia is higher in schools in Eastern Germany than in those in Western Germany and that xenophobia varies

according to the school type and level of education. The 'contamination' tends to be lower at vocational schools, the *Realschule* (a secondary school leading to intermediate qualifications) and grammar schools (*Gymnasium*) than at secondary modern schools (*Hauptschule*), schools in Eastern Germany and special needs schools. However, factors relating to the specific environment and catchment area of the school as well as factors within the schools (for example, the atmosphere) can affect the xenophobic attitudes in the school with the result that higher schools could be affected by xenophobia and, in reverse, in schools where a high risk of 'contamination' exists, there are hardly any instances of xenophobia at all.

In the light of the still existent differences between autochthonous and migrant pupils in the education system as well as instances of xenophobia and discrimination in schools, the question must be raised as to which *measures in the German education system* are supposed to be there in order to combat this phenomenon. Closer examination reveals that, within the education system, there is a series of measures for migrant children in place in all the federal states. Here, particular mention should be made of special support classes and tuition as well as additional classes conducted in the children's mother tongue and Islamic religious education. However, the mostly exclusive nature of these special measures for children and young people with a migrant background is often criticised. There is also broad agreement that the measures for migrant children within the education system are by no means sufficient. It is thus all the more important that, within the field of education, a wide variety of (state and non-state) organisations, action groups and associations exist which tackle the topics of xenophobia, racism and anti-Semitism and, through various means of *good practice*, attempt to contribute to combating these phenomena. In order to simplify matters, the numerous measures against discrimination and xenophobia in schools can be divided into the following fields: measures in pre-school education, measures in schools (on the one hand, intercultural education and education towards tolerance and, on the other hand, special measures for pupils with a migrant background), measures to foster vocational training for young migrants as well as measures in the field of vocational training and further education for teachers. The target group for these measures is not only pupils with a migrant background, but also German pupils and apprentices, teachers and educators as well as, in part, the parents of the children and young people with a migrant background.

## 1 Introduction

In this analytical study within the field of education, the situation of migrants in the education system is to be explored. Of importance in this context are the questions as to the educational involvement and achievement of migrants, on the one hand, and the extent to which young migrants have to fight against discrimination within the field of education on the other. The focus of the study is made up of children and young people with a migrant background. Thus, the study takes into account migrant citizens of the first and second generations and - inasmuch as is apparent from the statistics or studies - also ethnic German migrants (*Aussiedler*) and those who have been naturalised. The data relating to this group are principally examined in comparison to that of German children and young people and, as far as possible, differentiation will be made within the group of migrants as well. Here, in part significant differences become apparent both between the different groups of migrants as well as between the autochthonous group and migrants. However, one must point out already at this point that it is methodologically very difficult to establish the extent to which these differences in the educational situation can be traced back to forms of discrimination or

whether they are caused by determiners 'of normal social differences', such as differences in the opportunities to obtain education as a result of different social backgrounds (level of education of the parents). Thus, attainment in education for the children of families with a migrant background is dependent in the same way as it is for children from German families on the material, cultural and social resources available to the family as well as the respective placement strategies.

Education and training play a central role in the structural, cultural and social integration of children and young people from migrant families or those with a migrant background as they impart the knowledge, which is vital for the integration into the world of work. The present job market offers hardly any opportunities for those without school-leaving certificates to enter regular employment liable for contributions to social security. In addition, knowledge and skills gained at school contribute to cultural integration. School-leaving qualifications and a completed period of vocational training are decisive for the opportunities for fostering and the lasting integration of migrants into German society. Furthermore, educational and training institutions are important places of encounter between migrants and German citizens and thus support social integration in the private sphere, too.

A low level of education on the part of young people of migrant origin does not only lead to problems in professional integration, however, 'it also hinders social integration due to a low level of acceptance of migrants amongst the German population' [own translation] (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen 2000, p. 113). Thus, data from the field of education constitute significant indicators for the social integration of migrants/foreigners into German society (cf. Lederer 1997, p. 107).

To facilitate the understanding of the following statistics, first of all a brief overview of the German school system is given. Subsequently, explanation will be offered of the way the official statistics are collated. Several methodological notes on the official education statistics are required at this point, particularly referring to the problem that these statistics only record the characteristic of nationality. Finally, the situation of migrant children and young people will be presented in greater detail on the basis of the official education statistics whereby mention will also be made of the vocational training situation. Alongside a more detailed examination of the educational situation of migrant children and young people, in particular those of the second generation, closer attention will also be paid to discrimination in the field of education. Studies will be presented which deal with this aspect and which reveal possible causes of discrimination. In this context, the problem of the measurability of discrimination as well as the question of a standardised definition of discrimination will be explored. At the end, various 'good practice' measures from the areas of pre-school, school, vocational training and further education for skilled teaching personnel will be presented.

## 2 The education system in Germany

According to the German Constitution, the responsibility for the system of education in Germany lies in the hands of the individual federal states (federalist state structure). The central government is solely in charge of vocational training taking place outside of the schools, primarily in companies (cf. Statistisches Bundesamt (StBA) 1997, p. 36).

### 2.1 Overview of the structure of the education system

The education system of Germany is divided into the elementary level, the primary level, the secondary, and the tertiary level. The structure of the education system can be roughly outlined as follows.<sup>1</sup>

The elementary level comprises institutions - mainly **kindergartens** - for children aged between 3 and 6. Upon reaching the age of 6, children are obliged to go to school<sup>2</sup> and attend the **Grundschule**, a primary school for all children which usually covers the first to the fourth year (primary level). The transition from primary school into one of the further school types (secondary level), which have to be attended until the end of compulsory schooling (usually after nine years of full-time education), is regulated differently in the various federal states. The secondary level in Germany basically comprises a division into three parts: the *Hauptschule* (secondary modern school), the *Realschule* (a secondary school leading to intermediate qualifications) and *Gymnasium* (grammar school) (cf. StBA 1997, p.43).

The *Hauptschule* usually takes five years. It imparts a general education as the basis for practical vocational training and prepares its pupils for attending the *Berufsschule* (vocational school). The *Realschule* is a secondary school, which, upon completion, offers the basis for more highly skilled jobs (compared to the *Hauptschule*). The *Gymnasium* usually lasts nine years and is the most demanding form of secondary education. The completion of *Gymnasium* is simultaneously a qualification allowing pupils to take up their studies. Access to university can also be gained via the vocational courses of the secondary level II and via evening classes at an *Abendgymnasium*. In some federal states, alongside the so-called 'streamed' school system (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, *Gymnasium*), there is a regular school type called the *Gesamtschule* (comprehensive school). It imparts the content of the 'streamed' school system in years 5 to 9 or 10. In addition, there are *Sonderschule* (special needs schools) which serve in the fostering and care of physically and mentally disadvantaged or socially endangered children who otherwise could not be taught in the other school types or at least not taught with sufficient success. The tertiary level comprises the universities and the *Fachhochschulen* (a type of higher technical college).

Initial vocational training takes place in Germany via two alternative routes: the **dual apprenticeship** 'on the job' and in the vocational school (comparable to sandwich courses in Britain) and training in **full-time vocational schools** (such as the *Berufsfachschule*, a specialised vocational school). The clear majority of young people within the vocational training sector complete their training in the so-called 'Dual System' (Statistisches Bundesamt

<sup>1</sup> A schematic presentation of the basic structure of the education system in the Federal Republic of Germany can be found on the homepage of the Standing Committee of the Education Ministers (*Konferenz der Kultusminister*) of the Federal States in Germany ([http://www.kmk.org/dossier/aufbau\\_und\\_verwaltung.pdf](http://www.kmk.org/dossier/aufbau_und_verwaltung.pdf)).

<sup>2</sup> Foreign children are also principally obliged to go to school. However, in seven federal states children of asylum seekers are exempt from this rule; in three states the same is true for children of refugees from (civil) war. Every state offers children from these groups the opportunity to attend school, however (Reuter 2001, p. 112).



1997, p. 37). The vocational school in this case complements simultaneous practical training in the workplace.

Alongside these fundamental structures of the education system, there are numerous educational measures (for example, the vocational preparatory year), which can, in part, be very different in the individual federal states. It is not possible here to offer a comprehensive presentation of the German education system as it goes beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, several special measures which are offered for migrant pupils within the school system are presented in the following overview.

## 2.2 Special measures for migrants within the education system

Since 2001, with the publication of the volume 'School Education for Children of Minorities in Germany 1989-1999' (Gogolin/Neumann/Reuter 2001), there has for the first time been a comprehensive survey of the legal, organisational and curricular regulation of the school attendance of children with a migrant background which also deals with the particularities of the individual federal states. It reveals that in all federal states (supportive) measures are offered for children and young people with a migrant background. These measures vary greatly, however, with respect to their legal basis, target group and organisational implementation.<sup>3</sup>

In total, however, four different types of measures for migrant children can be discerned which are offered in almost all the federal states with varying degrees of emphasis. On the one hand, we find **special support classes and tuition**; on the other hand, there is **additional tuition in the migrants' mother tongue** and **Islamic religious education**. As a fifth aspect in the fostering of intercultural cohabitation in schools, we can identify the pedagogical principle of '**intercultural education**', which, at least in some federal states, is receiving more attention in the meantime. The latter principle does not only have migrants as its target group, but also autochthonous children.

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<sup>3</sup> As an example, mention could be made of a measure, which is only offered in Bavaria for migrant children: the bilingual classes, as they are known. In these classes, children are collected together with other children having the same non-German mother tongue. As this compilation of children with one mother tongue often leads to children of one nationality coming together into these classes, the bilingual classes are sometimes referred to as national classes. Teaching is carried out in the pupils' mother tongue and in German, whereby the proportion of German increases in the higher classes. Although transfer into regular classes is possible and (at least officially) desired, the pupils can de facto continue attending these classes until the 9<sup>th</sup> form, however. At the beginning of the eighties, approximately 40% of all migrant pupils in Bavaria attended such classes. In the meantime, there are only 188 bilingual classes (formerly, 1,400), which are mainly attended by Turkish children. However, there are also still 28 Greek, 16 Italian, 3 Croatian and 2 Serbo-Croatian classes (as per the school year 1996/97; cf. Neumann 2001, 34). The reduction in the number of these classes is not least due to widespread criticism which accuses this class form of encouraging segregation. A complete abolition of these classes is not under discussion at the present, however. A similar segregation effect is to be seen in national schools which were established for primarily Greek pupils due to co-operation between Greek migrant organisations and the Greek government and which are to be mainly found in Southern Germany.

### **1. Special support classes<sup>4</sup>:**

Special support classes are found, on the one hand, at the outset of primary education for beginners, but also in primary schools and secondary modern schools for 'newcomers entering education at a later stage' (*Seiteneinsteiger*), as they are known. In these classes, children and young people who, due to lacking German skills, for example, cannot yet take part in regular teaching are prepared for transition to the regular classes. They mainly learn German, but also receive subject-related teaching, too. They should be in a position to join regular classes after a year in such a special class. The period of attendance can be reduced or, in exceptional cases, be extended for a period of two years maximum. This model, which attempts to foster as integrated a form of teaching as possible with German and migrant pupils in regular classes, is, in the meantime, the most predominant - with minor differences - in the majority of federal states.

### **2. Special tuition:**

If the formation of a special support class is not possible due to a low number of participants<sup>5</sup>, then special tuition (support course, intensive course, etc.) is offered as an accompanying instrument. Here, too, learning German, and, in part, extra tuition in other subjects, for example, mathematics, is the main purpose of the teaching. Special tuition is conceived as a temporary measure to facilitate integration into the regular classes and to reach the level of the class, for example. In order to establish such a measure, a minimum number of pupils requiring special tuition is required. In Baden-Württemberg, for example, in primary and secondary modern schools at least four migrant pupils must have difficulties with German as the teaching medium or demonstrate lacking knowledge in other subjects for special courses to be offered (cf. Schroeder 2001, p. 14).

### **3. Additional tuition in the migrants' mother tongue:**

Additional tuition in the migrants' mother tongue is mainly offered in the western federal states, primarily for children from the former recruitment countries. It is only in the Eastern German federal states that occasional courses are offered in other languages (cf. Reuter 2001, p. 114). In part, teaching in the respective mother tongue is carried out by foreign teachers employed by the federal state concerned. In other federal states, by contrast, teaching is offered by the consulates, but within the school buildings, however. Participation in tuition in the migrants' mother tongue is voluntary. The aim of such teaching was initially to facilitate the children's return to their home country and to ease their return into the school system in these countries. It was only later that the socialisation function of the native language was accepted. In the meantime, it is assumed that promoting the mother tongue does not hinder the learning of German, but rather increases linguistic competence in general (cf. Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen 2001)

### **4. Islamic religious education:**

At the moment, Islamic religious education is not taught in any federal state in the sense of article 7, paragraph 3 of the German Constitution, whereby state religious education is offered

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<sup>4</sup> The terminology used for this educational measure differs in the various federal states. For example, some states refer to preparatory classes or courses or transitional classes.

<sup>5</sup> As a rule, special classes are created when an average of 10 children cannot immediately be integrated into regular classes.

in five federal states<sup>6</sup>. In four other states, there are non-state courses, mainly by diplomatic representatives or by Koran schools (cf. Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2002, pp. 19ff.). The underlying directives or curricula with respect to religious education are also extremely varied. In Bavaria, for example, the Turkish curriculum for religious and ethical education is taken as a model and is supplemented by teaching matters from the present-day living environment of the children. In North Rhine-Westphalia, in contrast, their own teaching units were developed and a school textbook was published. The teachers are, in part, native speakers who also teach regularly in Germany (for example, in Hamburg or Lower Saxony), but who gained the right to teach religion in their country of origin or who were prepared for such classes in courses (for example, in North Rhine-Westphalia). In Bavaria, Turkish teachers were sent from Turkey to the Free State of Bavaria.

## 5. Intercultural education:

Whilst intercultural education was initially introduced within the framework of migrant pedagogics and was restricted to classes with a high percentage of migrant children, intercultural education today is increasingly seen as a cross-section duty of schools which is relevant to all subjects and to all children (cf. Reuter 2001, p. 118). However, this task can be found in a wide variety of different forms in the various curricula with the consequence that the form of this teaching in part continues to remain the task of the individual teacher. In this context, demands are repeatedly made to include intercultural education within teacher training (cf. Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2002). School textbooks, which deal in a differentiated manner with the various foreign cultures, should also become elements of teaching which follows the principles of intercultural education. Even if some progress has been made in this field since the 1970s, there is repeated criticism of (even occasionally new) school textbooks even today which support prejudices about certain ethnic groups (cf. Höpken 1993, for example, or Poenicke 2001).

It can thus be said that there are a number of measures for migrant children within the German school system. However, they are often not referred to a good practice or at least seen as being insufficient. Frequent criticism is made that the measures for children and young people with a migrant background are implemented according to the 'basic pattern of exclusion' or 'particularity' [own translation] (Dannhäuser, p. 162). 'Although migration, culture, language and religion should not be reasons or legitimisation for scholastic exclusion, the impression is given that school policy does not make any serious efforts to create an equality of opportunity - for migrant children, too' [own translation] (loc. cit., p. 163). These lacking efforts could also be interpreted in the sense of discrimination through a lack of support.

In addition to general criticism of the measures within schools, detailed demands are repeatedly made from various quarters to implement more, and above all better measures to support migrant children in the education system. Demands which are repeatedly made include (cf. Dannhäuser, Independent Commission 'Migration' 2001, Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2002):<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Religious education here refers to courses in which information is given about the religion but where the communal practice of this religion is not involved.

<sup>7</sup> It must be kept in mind in the case of these demands that they have been implemented in part in some federal states or at least are part of various model projects. However, they have not yet been implemented nationally or have not been employed consistently enough.

- The fostering of German as a second language should not be only seen as a short-term intermediate measure, but implemented for a longer term and co-ordinated with other teaching.
- Since the argument for implementing additional tuition in the migrants' mother tongue, namely, the intention to return to the home country, has become increasingly obsolete and today the socialisation function of this educational offer is in the forefront, it is all the more important to base teaching in the mother tongue within the curriculum and to co-ordinate it with other teaching subjects.
- There should be more attention paid to the topics of migration and integration in teaching training. This involves in particular increased training and further education of teachers for German as a second language as well as the inclusion of intercultural education within regular teacher training.
- Although intercultural education for all pupils (whether with or without a migrant background) and for all schools independent of their proportion of migrants has been incorporated into the majority of syllabi in the meantime, demands continue to be made that it is implemented more consistently by the teaching staff and that this task is made more concrete in the school curricula. Hereby, a change of perspective is to be achieved through which 'being foreign and unfamiliar, being different and having variety is no longer interpreted as a deficit and employed for maintaining an undercurrent of exclusion, but [is seen] as enrichment and an opportunity to broaden one's own self-awareness, to deal with conflicts and to be open to change' [own translation] (Dannhäuser, p. 167).
- The parents of migrant children should be taken more into account as a target group. On the one hand, this comprises offers of information and advice (for example, by social workers who themselves have experience of migration and speak the parent's native tongue) and, on the other hand, also supporting language skills (for example, German courses for mothers at their children's school).
- Particularly after the PISA study, demands were increasing made to allow only a certain proportion of children with a non-German language into a class as the level of education in classes with a higher proportion of migrants is generally lower and thus disadvantages resulted not only for the migrant children, but also for German pupils. A limitation of the proportion of migrants could be achieved by 'bussing'<sup>8</sup> or by a redefinition of the catchment areas for schools. Another solution to deal with classes which have a high proportion of migrant children is suggested by the Independent Commission 'Migration' 2001: school classes with a high proportion of migrant pupils and socially disadvantaged children should be reduced in size and assigned more teachers.<sup>9</sup>

In total, it should be kept in mind that the implementation of individual measures should not be isolated, but the individual offers in education should be linked together in an integrated

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<sup>8</sup> 'Bussing' was practised in America at the end of the 1960s to prevent segregation. Mainly African-American pupils were driven to other parts of the city in school buses (for more information on 'bussing' as well as empirical findings on this practice, cf. Farley 1982, pp. 333ff.). In Germany, demands are made particularly by foreign parents that this measure should apply to both German and migrant pupils. However, the introduction of 'bussing' is not under serious discussion in Germany at the moment.

<sup>9</sup> Although it is already possible in all the federal states that schools with a high proportion of migrants can be allocated additional funds for teachers, this does not seem to be sufficient.

concept, not least in order to guarantee a higher degree of effectiveness and so allow migrants to participate in the education system on an equal footing. In the following, the present situation of migrants in the education system will be described and interpreted. To aid understanding, the basis of the data and the methodological problems involved in ascertaining it will firstly be presented.

### 3 Basis of the data

#### 3.1 Ascertaining and aggregating the data

Ascertaining school statistics takes place in the individual schools regularly approximately 6-8 weeks after the school year has begun. That is, the number of pupils is determined on a definite date. Due to the various school holiday regulations, this date varies in the different federal states.

The respective head of the school is responsible for supplying the school statistics. The determination of this data takes place in a largely automated procedure. In this statistic, the nationality, amongst others, of each pupil is also registered. Migrant students of whom it is expected that they will spend the whole of the school year in Germany are included in the figures. Exchange students are thus not counted.

The school head then reports the data either to the local education authority, from where it is passed on to the appropriate State Statistical Office (*Statistisches Landesamt*) or to the Ministry of Education of the federal state (*Bildungsministerium*), or it is passed to the appropriate Ministry of Education which then passes the data to the State Statistical Office, or it is sent to the State Statistical Office directly. This process varies from federal state to federal state; in the smaller states the statistics are sent to the State Statistical Office directly. These data specific to the individual states are then passed on to the Federal Statistical Office and are there collated together into a federal statistic<sup>10</sup>. The Federal Statistical Office hands on the data to the Conference of Ministers for Education and Culture (*Kultusministerkonferenz*). The first federal school statistics then appear about six to nine months after the current school year has started in press releases or so-called 'quick reports' from the Federal Statistical Office.

On the basis of the catalogue of school types created by the Conference of Ministers for Education and Culture, the Federal Statistical Office annually publishes national results relating to the field of education (Series 11, *Bildung und Kultur*: Issue 1: *Allgemeinbildende Schulen*; Issue 2: *Berufliche Schulen*; Issue 3: *Berufliche Bildung*; Series 4.1: *Studierende an Hochschulen*). The Conference of Ministers for Education and Culture also regularly publishes statistical overviews on the situation of migrant pupils (*Ausländische Schüler*). Data on the educational and training situation of young migrants are also to be found in the foundation and structural data published annually by the Federal Ministry for Education and Research, as well as in the Report on Vocational Training (*Berufsbildungsbericht*).

#### 3.2 Methodological Notes

Attention must be drawn to a ***problem of the official education statistics***. They only register the characteristic 'nationality' and thus underestimate the proportion of children and young people from families with experience of migration. Thus, children of later ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*), for example, with in part insufficient language skills are

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<sup>10</sup> Information from the Conference of Ministers for Education and Culture.

incorporated into the statistics as Germans. Consequently, this statistic underestimates the achievements in integration to be effected by the schools. People who have become naturalised are also classified as Germans in the official statistics. Thus, the criterion of comparison of nationality (German - migrant) creates a 'dichotomy which is out of touch with reality' [own translation](Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend 2000, p. 174).

It must be also noted that a direct comparison of educational data of Germans and migrants (or people with a migrant background) is problematic due to the differing educational preconditions (the level of education in the parental home), the changing composition of the pupils (immigration, emigration, 'newcomers entering education at a later stage' (*Seiteneinsteiger*)) and increasing naturalisation. The educational progress of many young people with a migrant background is thus systematically underestimated. In this way, achievements in education, for example, on the part of the so-called second generation through 'newcomers' (for example, children of people who fled from civil wars in the nineties) are not apparent in official statistics.

The educational achievements of young people with a migrant background are also underestimated due to the fact that naturalised citizens are incorporated into the statistics as Germans. Here, due the requirements of the naturalisation process, we are talking primarily of children and young people who are likely to be included in these statistics and who tend to be more successful in the education system than children of foreign nationality. Hence, the increasing percentage of naturalised children and young people contributes to the fact that the attainments in education of well-integrated groups of people with a migrant background are not completely reflected in the official statistics.

However, it must also be said that many young later migrants enter the German education system at a relatively late stage, too, and achieve poorer school-leaving qualifications than the autochthonous Germans do. They hardly distort the educational attainments of Germans, though, statistically speaking, as this group of later migrants is too small with respect to the total number of German pupils.

In the comparative interpretation of education data, one must additionally consider that the group of children and young people from migrant families stems from various groups and that this composition varies over the course of time (for example, because of the processes of emigration and immigration). This is true both with respect to their national origin<sup>11</sup> and to their migration and educational biography. Although the majority of children and young people with a migrant background have been born in Germany in the meantime (72.9% of migrants under 18 years of age)<sup>12</sup>, particularly in the first half of the nineties, there was an increase in the number of young people who had migrated later entering the German school system at a relatively late age. Lacking German skills and gaps in knowledge, which result from the change into the German school system hinder the successful participation of these young migrants in education. In general, one can say: the higher the age of the migrant, the more difficult the integration into the education system becomes.

Influence on the educational opportunities of young migrants is also attributed to the attitude of the parents towards their stay in Germany. Thus, it can be assumed that those who have not decided on permanent residence in Germany do not invest enough in the education of their children. Parents who intend to return to their country of origin or who have an uncertain status regarding residence in Germany prefer jobs for their children which are also useable in their home societies (cf. Seifert 2001, p.6).

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<sup>11</sup> Whilst the migrants came from only a limited number of states in the early years, in particular from the former recruitment states (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia and Yugoslavia), a diversification in the origins of the migrants can be observed throughout the whole of the nineties.

<sup>12</sup> As per 31 December, 2000.

The differing preconditions for education in the parental home contribute to the children and young people from migrant families profiting less from the general expansion in education than German young people do (autochthonous young people).

Since the first generation of migrants who came in the recruitment phase tends to be at the lower end of the social scale ('classes more distanced from education', characterised by lower qualification and unskilled jobs), their children also profit to a lesser extent than other social groups from the general improvements in the educational situation. In addition, it must be said that these parents often do not have sufficient knowledge of the German education system (Lederer 1997, p. 108).

## **4 Integration of migrant children and young people into the German education system**

In order to assess the situation of migrant children and young people in the German education system, on the one hand, official education statistics are employed, the source of which is especially the Federal Statistical Office (*Statistisches Bundesamt*) and the State Statistical Offices (*Statistische Landesämter*), the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (*Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung*) as well as the Conference of Ministers for Education and Culture (*Kultusministerkonferenz*). On the other hand, recourse is made to various empirical studies which investigate more closely the different partial areas of the topic and whose results supplement the official statistics, but also in part put them into perspective.

### **4.1 Official education statistics**

In the analysis of the situation of migrant children and young people in the German education system, the following indicators were particularly employed:

- the attendance of kindergartens and pre-school institutions
- the educational involvement, that is, the distribution amongst the various school types in comparison to those of German pupils
- the qualifications obtained
- the proportion of apprentices
- the proportion of students

In the following, based on the official education statistics, the extent will be examined to which migrant children and young people are integrated in the school or vocational education system in comparison to Germans. However, it should be noted that these statistics offer less comprehensive information about migrant pupils, apprentices and students than about Germans. Thus, no differentiation is made in school-leaving qualifications, for example, according to nationality and there are no qualification statistics for migrant apprentices and students.

The *proportion of migrant pupils* at all schools has been over 9% since 1993 (cf. table 1). The higher quota of migrants at German schools in comparison to the percentage of migrants in the population as a whole expresses the differing age structures of the German and foreign population.

*Table 1: German and migrant pupils at schools providing a general education and at vocational schools in Germany from 1992 to 2001*

Year	Total number of pupils	Migrant pupils	Proportion in %	Proportion of migrants in total population in %
1992	11,815,999	1,056,791	8.9	8.0
1993	12,007,538	1,099,012	9.2	8.5
1994	12,218,180	1,122,208	9.2	8.6
1995	12,367,479	1,145,931	9.3	8.8
1996	12,550,343	1,173,832	9.4	8.9
1997	12,696,836	1,178,848	9.3	9.0
1998	12,708,982	1,156,751	9.1	8.9
1999	12,705,250	1,160,452	9.1	8.9
2000	12,642,618	1,155,318	9.1	8.9
2001	12,564,621	1,156,001	9.2	

Source: Federal Statistical Office

An indicator with which the development in the integration of migrants in the field of education can be followed in a longitudinal analysis is the *participation in education* of migrant and German citizens (attendance quota of various school types). The indicator reveals how the German and migrant pupils (with reference to pupils of the same age) are distributed amongst the various school types (schools providing a general education, vocational schools and further education institutions).

Following a continual increase in the participation in education on the part of young migrants living in Germany at secondary schools until the mid-nineties, since then a stagnation can be determined (cf. chapter 4.1.2). At vocational schools and in vocational training, decreases can even be noticed (cf. chapter 4.1.3). In total, the differences in the participation in education between Germans and migrants remain extremely noticeable.

The participation in the German education system of migrant children and young people at the ages of 15 to under 20 was 69% in 2000, representing an increase of 4% compared to last year. This increase is solely due to an increasing participation in education at secondary school, whilst the involvement at vocational schools and also in vocational training has decreased further. The involvement of German pupils of the same age was 93% (1999: 92%)<sup>13</sup>. In the age group 20 to under 25, the participation in education of migrants was 14%; in contrast, that of the Germans was 39% (Jeschek 2000, 2001 and 2002). These figures show that young migrants are significantly less successful than German young people in taking the path to secondary education (at schools providing a general education or vocational schools) or in beginning vocational training or starting their studies.

In the following, the distribution of migrant pupils amongst the various school types and the qualifications they achieve will be described more closely and observed in individual comparison with German pupils. First of all, brief mention will be made of migrant children's attendance of kindergartens since attending pre-school institutions influences the children's and young people's further school careers or future achievements in education.

#### 4.1.1 Kindergartens and pre-school

<sup>13</sup> The numbers for 2001 are not yet available since the age structure of the foreign population has not been published for this year.



Attending a kindergarten is of decisive importance both for the social as well as cultural integration of children from migrant families. On the one hand, a significant portion of linguistic integration takes place in kindergarten since, through the contact to the teachers and other children (German-speaking environment), there is an opportunity to learn the German language and to reduce linguistic deficits before enrolment in school takes place. It has been shown that migrant children who have attended a kindergarten are subject to considerably fewer linguistic deficits at the point of enrolment into schools than children who have not attended such an institution, as shown, for example, by the results of the assessment of linguistic abilities in Berlin 'Bärenstark' (*Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Sport* 2002). In addition, research has confirmed that migrant children who have attended a kindergarten achieve a higher level of qualification on average (cf. the results of the EFFNATIS project in Lederer 2000, p. 28). On the other hand, the kindergarten is also an important place of encounter for the social integration of migrants and Germans, both for children as well as for their parents.

*Table 2: Quota of kindergarten attendance according to age group in 2000 (April) in percent*

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Under 3 years</b>	<b>3 to 4 years</b>	<b>4 to 5 years</b>	<b>5 to 6 years</b>
<b>Quota of kindergarten attendance of all children</b>	47.5	9.5	56.3	82.9	89.8
<b>Quota of kindergarten attendance of migrant children</b>	42.3	6.4	47.1	75.7	85.5

Source: Federal Statistical Office: micro-census 2000

1) Proportion of all children living in Germany in the age group 0 to 6 years.

2) Proportion of all migrant children living in Germany in the corresponding age group.

The table shows that the *quota of kindergarten attendance* of migrant children of 42.3% lies slightly below that of all children (47.5%). Thus, it can be determined that the proportional discrepancy between the attendance quota of migrant children and that of children as a whole - disregarding the under-3s - reduces with the increasing age of the children. 'These figures counter the often formulated theory that migrant parents send their children to kindergartens noticeably less frequently than German parents do' [own translation] (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen 2002, p. 193).

Migrant children are over-proportionally represented in pre-school institutions (pre-school classes and school kindergartens). In 2001, 21% of children in pre-school classes<sup>14</sup> and 25% of children in school kindergartens<sup>15</sup> were of foreign nationality, although this was only applicable to approximately 12% of primary school pupils. The reason for this higher proportion lies, above all, in the more frequent postponement of enrolment into schooling in the case of migrant children. These postponements into institutions of pre-school education 'are usually justified with deficits in German skills and the cultural unfamiliarity of the parents although this should not be a hindrance to enrolling in school according to the education laws of most federal states' [own translation] (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen 2002, p. 194).

<sup>14</sup> Pre-school classes are attended by children who are ready for school, but who are not yet obliged to attend school by law.

<sup>15</sup> School kindergartens are institutions of pre-school education that are attended by children who are ready for school, but who are not yet obliged to attend school by law.

### 4.1.2 Schools providing a general education

Table 3: Migrant pupils at schools providing a general education according to school type from 1993 to 2000

School types	1993				1994				1995			
	German pupils		migrant pupils		German pupils		migrant pupils		German pupils		migrant pupils	
	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %
Schools providing general education	8,690,866	<b>100</b>	867,589	<b>100</b>	8,873,183	<b>100</b>	887,246	<b>100</b>	9,018,388	<b>100</b>	913,338	<b>100</b>
<i>Of which</i>												
primary schools	3,145,467	<b>36.2</b>	329,588	<b>38.0</b>	3,214,062	<b>36.2</b>	344,844	<b>38.9</b>	3,268,014	<b>36.2</b>	366,328	<b>40.1</b>
secondary modern	883,034	<b>10.2</b>	218,984	<b>25.2</b>	899,264	<b>10.1</b>	214,169	<b>24.1</b>	911,880	<b>10.1</b>	211,629	<b>23.2</b>
special schools	320,453	<b>3.7</b>	51,427	<b>5.9</b>	329,090	<b>3.7</b>	53,856	<b>6.1</b>	335,230	<b>3.7</b>	55,888	<b>6.1</b>
<i>Realschulen</i>	1,030,908	<b>11.9</b>	75,274	<b>8.7</b>	1,064,365	<b>12.0</b>	76,961	<b>8.7</b>	1,098,055	<b>12.2</b>	77,113	<b>8.4</b>
grammar schools	2,031,343	<b>23.4</b>	84,504	<b>9.7</b>	2,064,002	<b>23.3</b>	84,700	<b>9.5</b>	2,079,278	<b>23.1</b>	85,347	<b>9.3</b>
comprehensive schools	411,009	<b>4.8</b>	54,070	<b>6.2</b>	432,018	<b>4.9</b>	57,102	<b>6.4</b>	448,975	<b>5.0</b>	59,594	<b>6.5</b>
Other <sup>1</sup>	868,652	<b>10.0</b>	53,742	<b>6.2</b>	870,382	<b>9.8</b>	55,614	<b>6.3</b>	876,956	<b>9.7</b>	57,439	<b>6.3</b>

School types	1996				1997				1998			
	German Pupils		migrant pupils		German pupils		migrant pupils		German pupils		migrant pupils	
	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %
Schools providing general education	9,129,519	<b>100</b>	941,240	<b>100</b>	9,196,232	<b>100</b>	950,707	<b>100</b>	9,171,371	<b>100</b>	936,693	<b>100</b>
<i>Of which</i>												
Primary schools	3,302,817	<b>36.2</b>	388,531	<b>41.3</b>	3,297,968	<b>35.9</b>	399,838	<b>42.1</b>	3,206,055	<b>35.0</b>	395,945	<b>42.3</b>
Hauptschulen	913,839	<b>10.0</b>	207,695	<b>22.1</b>	909,831	<b>9.9</b>	200,784	<b>21.1</b>	909,063	<b>9.9</b>	188,915	<b>20.2</b>
special schools	341,364	<b>3.7</b>	57,202	<b>6.1</b>	347,548	<b>3.8</b>	58,581	<b>6.2</b>	351,126	<b>3.8</b>	59,296	<b>6.3</b>
<i>Realschulen</i>	1,124,585	<b>12.3</b>	78,367	<b>8.3</b>	1,146,665	<b>12.5</b>	78,436	<b>8.3</b>	1,169,027	<b>12.8</b>	78,608	<b>8.4</b>
grammar schools	2,094,867	<b>23.0</b>	86,695	<b>9.2</b>	2,112,266	<b>23.0</b>	87,826	<b>9.2</b>	2,135,375	<b>23.3</b>	88,023	<b>9.4</b>
comprehensive schools	464,952	<b>5.1</b>	62,007	<b>6.6</b>	478,033	<b>5.2</b>	63,414	<b>6.7</b>	484,558	<b>5.3</b>	63,791	<b>6.8</b>
Other <sup>1</sup>	887,095	<b>9.7</b>	60,743	<b>6.5</b>	903,921	<b>9.8</b>	61,828	<b>6.5</b>	916,167	<b>10.0</b>	62,115	<b>6.6</b>

School types	1999				2000				2001			
	German Pupils		migrant pupils		German pupils		migrant pupils		German pupils		migrant pupils	
	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %
Schools providing general education	9,102,473	<b>100</b>	946,300	<b>100</b>	9,010,291	<b>100</b>	950,490	<b>100</b>	8,914,890	<b>100</b>	955,556	<b>100</b>
<i>Of which</i>												
Primary schools	3,087,980	<b>33.9</b>	400,320	<b>42.3</b>	2,956,836	<b>32.8</b>	396,099	<b>41.7</b>	2,823,628	<b>31.7</b>	387,858	<b>40.6</b>
Hauptschulen	906,947	<b>10.0</b>	188,570	<b>19.9</b>	913,247	<b>10.1</b>	190,631	<b>20.1</b>	917,735	<b>10.3</b>	196,219	<b>20.5</b>
special schools	354,578	<b>3.9</b>	60,847	<b>6.4</b>	357,676	<b>4.0</b>	62,751	<b>6.6</b>	360,047	<b>4.0</b>	65,436	<b>6.8</b>
<i>Realschulen</i>	1,171,771	<b>12.9</b>	79,089	<b>8.4</b>	1,182,180	<b>13.1</b>	81,202	<b>8.5</b>	1,193,521	<b>13.4</b>	84,218	<b>8.8</b>
grammar schools	2,157,039	<b>23.7</b>	88,116	<b>9.3</b>	2,168,715	<b>24.1</b>	88,146	<b>9.3</b>	2,195,732	<b>24.6</b>	88,594	<b>9.3</b>
comprehensive schools	486,509	<b>5.3</b>	64,516	<b>6.8</b>	483,690	<b>5.4</b>	65,799	<b>6.9</b>	480,837	<b>5.4</b>	66,816	<b>7.0</b>
Other <sup>1</sup>	937,649	<b>10.3</b>	64,842	<b>6.9</b>	947,947	<b>10.5</b>	65,862	<b>6.9</b>	943,390	<b>10.6</b>	66,415	<b>7.0</b>

Source: Federal Statistical Office

1) Including, for example, school types with several courses of education, orientation classes independent of school type and evening schools.

2) As a percentage of all migrant pupils.

The number of migrant pupils at schools providing a general education in Germany in the school year 2001/2002 was 955,556 (approximately 43.6% of those were pupils of Turkish descent). This corresponds to a proportion of some 9.7% of all pupils at schools providing a general education. A differentiated examination according to school type shows that migrant children and young people, in comparison to German pupils, are particularly highly represented at *Hauptschulen* and *Sonderschulen*. Thus, in the year 2001, about 20.5% (2000: 20.1%) of all pupils at schools providing a general education took classes in the *Hauptschule*

and 6.8% (2000: 6.6.%) attended *Sonderschule* whilst the corresponding proportions for German pupils were 10.3% and 4.0% respectively (2000: 10.1% and 4.0% respectively). In contrast, migrant pupils are underrepresented at higher secondary schools. 8.8% and 9.3% (2000: 8.5% and 9.3%) of migrant pupils attended *Realschule* and *Gymnasium* respectively. The quota for the German pupils was 13.4% and 24.6% (2000: 13.1% and 24.1%) respectively.<sup>16</sup>

The positive trend towards *attendance of higher secondary school* by young migrants, which prevailed until the nineties, has been at a *standstill* since 1993. By contrast, the proportion of migrant pupils in the *Sonderschule* has increased slightly. A significant cause for the development in the statistics is, however, the aforementioned 'newcomers entering education at a later stage', such as the children of refugees from civil wars, in particular in Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, who frequently only entered the German school system at a relatively late stage in their lives. The problem of 'newcomers entering education at a later stage' is also reflected in the following table 4. It shows that pupils of Yugoslavian descent constitute the highest attendance quota at *Sonderschulen* (13.9%) compared to other nationalities.

*Table 4: Pupils at schools providing a general education according to selected nationalities and school types in the school year 2001/2002*

Country of nationality	total	primary schools		secondary modern school		special need schools		<i>Realschulen</i>		grammar schools	
			%		%		%		%		%
Germany	8,914,890	2,823,628	31.7	917,735	10.3	360,047	4.0	1,193,521	13.4	2,195,732	24.6
France	5,358	2,258	42.1	510	9.5	171	3.2	317	5.9	1,500	28.0
Greece	33,566	13,781	41.1	7,612	22.7	1,729	5.2	3,612	10.8	3,683	11.0
Italy	69,483	26,826	38.6	18,548	26.7	5,857	8.4	6,865	9.9	4,252	6.1
Austria	6,930	2,341	33.8	851	12.3	245	3.5	752	10.9	2,256	32.6
Portugal	12,989	5,036	38.8	3,053	23.5	861	6.6	1,389	10.7	1,127	8.7
Spain	7,555	2,800	37.1	1,212	16.0	367	4.9	983	13.0	1,141	15.1
United Kingdom	6,092	2,341	38.4	709	11.6	219	3.6	612	10.0	1,311	21.5
Bosnia-Herzegovina	19,324	6,837	35.4	4,352	22.5	979	5.1	2,297	11.9	1,956	10.1
Yugoslavia	69,096	30,207	43.7	15,441	22.3	9,635	13.9	4,163	6.0	2,854	4.1
Croatia	20,167	6,563	32.5	3,775	18.7	817	4.1	3,442	17.1	3,717	18.4
Poland	19,478	6,175	31.7	2,972	15.3	555	2.8	2,369	12.2	4,293	22.0
Russian Federation	20,332	6,818	33.5	3,030	14.9	480	2.4	1,705	8.4	5,220	25.7
Turkey	416,595	177,518	42.6	91,215	21.9	27,613	6.6	36,510	8.8	22,306	5.4
total of migrant pupils	955,556	387,858	40.6	196,219	20.5	65,436	6.8	84,218	8.8	88,594	9.3
total of pupils	9,870,446	3,211,486	32.5	1,113,954	11.3	425,483	4.3	1,277,739	12.9	2,284,326	23.1

Source: Federal Statistical Office

If one regards the *attendance quotas* differentiated *according to nationality* (cf. table 4), then large differences in the achievements in education of the different migrant nationalities become apparent. The highest attendance quota at the *Gymnasium* in 2001, alongside pupils from Austria and Switzerland, were those from France, the Russian Federation, Poland and the United Kingdom. Extremely low quotas at the *Gymnasium*, but high quotas at *Hauptschulen* and *Sonderschulen* were registered for pupils from Yugoslavia (a special case

<sup>16</sup> In North Rhine-Westphalia, the only federal state in which ethnic German migrants are included in the school statistics, the children of such families are over-represented in the *Hauptschule* (29%) and *Realschule* (19%), but underrepresented in the *Gymnasium* (9%) (with a slightly worse quota than children of foreign nationality, though, in contrast to migrant children, they are also underrepresented in the *Sonderschule* (3%)) (*Landesamt für Datenverarbeitung und Statistik NRW* 2001, p. 58).

due to migration of refugees from civil war in the nineties), Turkey, Italy, Bosnia-Herzegovina (also due to civil war) and Portugal.<sup>17</sup>

Table 5: School-leaving qualifications of Germans and migrants at schools providing a general education from 1996 to 2001

Type of qualification	1996				1997				1998			
	Germans		migrants		Germans		migrants		Germans		migrants	
	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %
without <i>Hauptschule</i> qualification	61,820	7.5	16,880	19.7	63,650	7.7	16,850	19.4	66,254	7.9	16,714	19.5
<i>Hauptschule</i> qualification	204,203	24.8	37,397	43.6	208,857	25.2	37,043	42.7	209,421	25.0	35,941	41.9
GCSE	339,963	41.2	23,637	27.5	339,183	40.9	24,417	28.1	345,756	41.2	24,785	28.9
A- level	218,288	26.5	7,912	9.2	217,769	26.3	8,431	9.7	217,192	25.9	8,295	9.7
Total	824,274	100.0	85,826	100.0	829,459	100.0	86,741	100.0	838,623	100.0	85,735	100.0

Type of qualification	1999				2000				2001			
	Germans		migrants		Germans		migrants		Germans		migrants	
	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %
without <i>Hauptschule</i> qualification	67,544	7.9	15,663	19.3	71,095	8.3	15,506	19.9	73,356	8.6	15,100	20.3
<i>Hauptschule</i> qualification	206,211	24.2	33,221	41.0	207,182	24.1	31,327	40.2	206,166	24.2	29,788	40.0
GCSE	352,127	41.3	23,427	28.9	350,502	40.8	22,511	28.9	355,442	41.7	21,570	29.0
A- level	226,263	26.6	8,789	10.8	231,290	26.9	8,564	11.0	217,366	25.5	7,923	10.7
Total	852,145	100.0	81,100	100.0	860,069	100.0	77,908	100.0	852,330	100.0	74,381	100.0

Source: Federal Statistical Office

The differences in school achievements of German and migrant pupils are also apparent in the developments in school-leaving qualifications (cf. table 5). Migrant pupils finish school in comparison to German pupils with significantly lower qualifications on average. In the year 2001, 74,381 migrant pupils left schools providing a general education. 20.3% of these pupils left without formal qualifications; this is true for only 8.6% of German pupils. 40.0% of migrant pupils left schools providing a general education with the *Hauptschule* certificate and 29.0% passed *mittlere Reife* (comparable to the General Certificate of Secondary Education). 41.7% of German school-leavers in comparison left with a *Realschule* certificate and 24.2% with a *Hauptschule* certificate. 25.5% of German pupils, but only 10.7% of migrant pupils obtained the right to study or to go to a *Fachhochschule* (that is, passed A-levels (*Abitur*)).

If one regards the *educational qualifications* of migrant pupils over time, then it can be determined that, in the course of the nineties, the trend towards secondary education has continued, albeit at a slower rate.<sup>18</sup> However, this development did not continue in 2000 and 2001. Although there was a rise in the percentage of migrant pupils obtaining a *Realschule* certificate (from 26.5% in 1994 to 29.0% in 2001), the percentage of those obtaining

<sup>17</sup> Powell/Wagner (2000, p. 13) offer 'individual experiences of migration, cultural and religious backgrounds and differing socio-economic backgrounds' [own translation] as reasons for the, in part, large differences according to nationality in the sending of children to special needs schools.

<sup>18</sup> An explanation for the supposed contradiction between this trend and the stagnation determined above in the attendance of secondary schools is offered by the temporal difference between enrolling in school and completing school.

qualifications allowing them to study sank slightly from 11.0% in 2000 to 10.7% in 2001, after this percentage had continually risen from 9.6% in 1994 until the year 2000. In addition, after dropping in the period from 1994 to 1999 from 20.4% to 19.3%, the percentage of migrant pupils leaving school without a *Hauptschule* qualification rose again to 19.9% and 20.3% in 2000 and 2001 respectively.

If one regards the migrant school-leavers differentiated according to *gender*, then it is apparent that migrant girls or young women record slightly higher educational achievements than migrant boys or young men. The migrant female pupils in the year 2001 thus left school less frequently without qualifications (15.8% to 24.4%), but more frequently with a *Realschule* certificate (32.6% to 25.8%) or A-levels (12.3% to 9.2%) than their male counterparts.

In conclusion, one must add several comments on the participation in education, which is specific to the respective federal states. With regard to attendance at the different school types, there are significant differences between the different federal states.<sup>19</sup> Thus, Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg have the lowest percentages of migrant pupils at *Realschule* and *Gymnasium*, but an over-proportionally high percentage at *Hauptschule* and *Sonderschule* (cf. Hunger/Thränhardt 2001, pp. 55ff.; *Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend* 2000, p. 180). When examining the disparities between the attainments of foreigners/migrants between the different federal states, it is important to note, however, that these results are also based on general structural differences in the education systems of the individual states. Thus, in North Rhine-Westphalia, for example, where the quota of migrant pupils achieving a secondary school-leaving qualification is significantly higher than in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, overall higher school-leaving qualifications are achieved.

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<sup>19</sup> The data differentiated according to federal states can also be found for the most part in the aforementioned publications of the Federal Statistical Office and the Conference of Ministers for Education and Culture.

### 4.1.3 Vocational schools and vocational training

Table 6: Migrant pupils at vocational school according to school types from 1994 to 2001

School types	1993				1994				1995			
	German pupils		migrant pupils		German pupils		migrant pupils		German pupils		migrant pupils	
	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %
Vocational schools	2,217,660	100	231,423	100	2,192,789	100	234,962	100	2,203,160	100	232,593	100
<i>Of which</i>												
vocational preparatory year or vocational foundation year	117,103	5.3	24,584	10.6	124,418	5.7	25,422	10.8	131,473	6.0	25,273	10.9
vocational school	1,467,771	66.2	145,944	63.1	1,420,339	64.8	143,532	61.1	1,417,737	64.4	138,628	59.6
vocational technical schools	252,989	11.4	32,489	14.0	259,661	11.8	35,358	15.0	269,775	12.3	36,906	15.9
vocational secondary schools/ secondary technical school <sup>1</sup>	157,664	7.1	10,978	4.7	160,910	7.3	11,696	5.0	161,008	7.3	12,283	5.3
technical schools	150,308	6.8	3,901	1.7	153,837	7.0	4,492	1.9	148,085	6.7	4,725	2.0
School types	1996				1997				1998			
	German pupils		migrant pupils		German pupils		migrant pupils		German pupils		migrant pupils	
	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	Absolute	in %	absolute	in %
Vocational schools	2,246,992	100	232,592	100	2,321,756	100	228,141	100	2,380,860	100	220,058	100
<i>Of which</i>												
vocational preparatory year or vocational foundation year	84,265	3.8	20,899	9.0	85,475	3.7	21,118	9.3	88,042	3.7	19,620	8.9
vocational school	1,485,847	66.1	139,579	60.0	1,520,599	65.5	131,853	57.8	1,558,116	65.4	125,362	57.0
vocational technical schools	290,340	12.9	39,680	17.1	324,436	14.0	42,212	18.5	341,092	14.3	42,139	19.1
vocational secondary schools/ secondary technical school <sup>1</sup>	165,706	7.4	12,746	5.5	171,061	7.4	13,492	5.9	174,043	7.3	13,615	6.2
technical schools	145,969	6.5	5,231	2.2	142,428	6.1	5,289	2.3	136,753	5.7	5,297	2.4
School types	1999				2000				2001			
	German pupils		migrant pupils		German pupils		migrant pupils		German pupils		migrant pupils	
	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	absolute	in %	Absolute	in %	absolute	in %
Vocational schools	2,442,298	100	214,152	100	2,477,009	100	204,828	100	2,493,730	100	200,445	100
<i>Of which</i>												
vocational preparatory year or vocational foundation year	89,280	3.7	19,003	8.9	94,455	3.8	19,568	9.6	94,895	3.8	19,128	9.5
vocational school	1,600,983	65.6	122,183	57.1	1,671,403	67.5	125,500	61.3	1,662,514	66.7	121,854	60.8
vocational technical schools	351,170	14.4	40,773	19.0	374,511	15.2	40,799	19.9	385,014	15.4	40,357	20.1
vocational secondary schools/ secondary technical school <sup>1</sup>	181,930	7.5	13,252	6.2	192,940	7.8	12,598	6.2	191,066	7.7	11,677	5.8
technical schools	133,234	5.5	5,377	2.5	136,317	5.5	5,843	2.9	141,048	5.6	6,356	3.2

Source: Federal Statistical Office

1) Including *Fachgymnasien* (specialised grammar schools), *technischen Oberschulen* (technical secondary schools) and *Berufsaufbauschulen* (vocational continuation schools),

In the year 2001, there was a total of almost 200,000 migrant pupils at vocational schools. This corresponds to a proportion of 7.4%. The *percentage of migrants at vocational schools* thus lay 2.3% under that at the schools providing a general education (9.7%). The number of migrant pupils at vocational schools has thus dropped continually since 1994, both in absolute as well as relative terms. This development is a clear sign that it is increasingly difficult for migrant pupils to begin training at a vocational school after finishing school providing general education and to finish their training successfully with a professional qualification (Jeschek 2002).

In vocational schools, too, the *distribution of migrant pupils amongst the various school types* differs from that of German pupils (cf. table 6). Young migrants are under-proportionally represented particularly at the *Berufsoberschule* (vocational secondary school) and the *Fachoberschule* (secondary technical school) with a percentage of 5.8% as well as at *Fachschulen* (technical schools) with a percentage of 3.2% (German pupils: 7.7% and 5.6% respectively). Nonetheless, the increasing tendency towards greater attendance of technical

schools, where further education is also offered alongside initial professional training, is to be evaluated positively as professional qualifications can be obtained there that are not offered elsewhere (schools for master craftsman and technical schools) (cf. Jeschek 2002). These schools usually assume that the pupil has completed an apprenticeship. Migrant pupils are over-proportionally represented, however, in the vocational preparatory year or vocational foundation year with 9.5% (German pupils: 3.8%). The high percentage of migrants at this school type is a sign that many pupils of foreign nationality do not find places for apprenticeships immediately after leaving school or increasingly switch to shorter training programmes not leading to a professional qualification (Jeschek 2001, p. 4); these support programmes preparing for a profession should thus particularly foster professional integration.

*Table 7: Pupils at vocational schools according to selected nationalities and school types in the school year 2001/2002*

Country of nationality	Total	vocational preparatory year or vocational foundation year		vocational schools		vocational technical schools		vocational secondary schools/ secondary technical school		Technical schools	
			in %		in %		in %		in %		in %
Germany	2,493,730	97,180	3.9	1,662,514	66.7	385,014	15.4	191,066	7.7	141,048	5.7
France	1,137	41	3.6	645	56.7	252	22.2	69	6.1	103	9.0
Greece	9,270	477	5.1	6,152	66.4	1,816	19.6	494	5.3	291	3.1
Italy	21,104	1,329	6.3	14,380	68.1	3,947	18.7	774	3.7	574	2.7
Austria	2,273	35	1.5	1,463	64.4	311	13.7	189	8.3	191	8.4
Portugal	3,310	258	7.8	1,955	59.1	776	23.4	178	5.4	135	4.1
Spain	2,982	97	3.3	1,987	66.6	567	19.0	115	3.9	173	5.8
Bosnia-Herzegovina	5,539	315	5.7	3,641	65.7	1,030	18.6	327	5.9	191	3.4
Yugoslavia	11,714	1,553	13.3	7,510	64.1	1,882	16.1	471	4.0	240	2.0
Croatia	9,653	311	3.2	6,601	68.4	1,568	16.2	721	7.5	345	3.6
Macedonia	2,133	202	9.5	1,463	68.6	339	15.9	72	3.4	48	2.3
Poland	5,138	337	6.6	2,809	54.7	1,197	23.3	443	8.6	323	6.3
Romania	1,384	92	6.6	809	58.5	297	21.5	76	5.5	96	6.9
Russian Federation	2,935	387	13.2	1,508	51.4	626	21.3	217	7.4	139	4.7
Turkey	81,448	7,383	9.1	51,077	62.7	16,531	20.3	4,447	5.5	1,842	2.3
Migrant pupils in total	200,445	19,128	9.5	121,854	60.8	40,357	20.1	11,677	5.8	6,356	3.2
Total number of pupils	2,694,175	116,308	4.3	1,784,368	66.2	425,371	15.8	202,743	7.5	147,404	5.5

Source: Federal Statistical Office

If one examines the distribution of migrant pupils amongst the various school types differentiated according to their *countries of origin*, then it is also apparent here that particularly young Yugoslavians and Turks are over-represented in the lower vocational school types and underrepresented in the higher ones (cf. table 7). Similarly over-proportionally represented in the vocational preparatory year or vocational foundation year are pupils from the Russian Federation amongst which there are, in part, 'newcomers entering education at a later stage' (family members of ethnic German migrants as well as Jewish refugees). The Russian pupils are, however, also represented proportionally higher in the higher types of vocational schools.

Table 8: School-leavers/graduates of vocational schools in 2001

School-leavers	Total	in %	Germans	in %	Migrants	in %
<b>With leaving certificate<sup>1</sup></b>	221,469	21.2	186,815	19.5	34,654	38.8
<b>With qualification</b>	824,684	78.8	770,039	80.5	54,645	61.2
<b>Graduates/leavers in total</b>	1,046,513	100	957,214	100	89,299	100

Source: Federal Statistical Office

1) A leaving certificate is given when the aim of the respective level of education is not attained (without completing the vocational training)

Table 8 also reveals that a significantly higher number of migrant pupils in vocational schools than German pupils left school *without qualifications* and thus have less favourable perspectives for qualification (Bremer 2000, p. 130). Of the 89,299 pupils who graduated from vocational schools in 2001, more than a third (38.8%) did not obtain a school-leaving certificate. In the case of the German pupils, the quota lay at around 19.5%. Here, too, in the interpretation of the official data, one must also take into account the increased number of 'newcomers entering education at a later stage' since the mid-nineties.

The majority of pupils at vocational schools also simultaneously enter into an apprenticeship. However, whilst 64% of German vocational school pupils were in an apprenticeship in 2001, only around 46% of the migrant pupils were in a similar position. The *quota of migrant apprentices* amongst the total number of apprentices as a whole has sunk continually from 8% in 1994 (in absolute terms: 125,887) to 5.5% in the year 2001 (in absolute terms: 92,300) (cf. table 9). Related to the 18-21 age group, this means that approximately two thirds of the young Germans, but only about a third of migrants are doing an apprenticeship. This reduction occurred despite the efforts of numerous institutions (Federal Employment Office (*Bundesanstalt für Arbeit*), national and federal governments, economic associations, trade unions) who initiated numerous measures to offer more migrants places to take up an apprenticeship (Jeschek 2002). In 2001, the proportion of women amongst the migrant apprentices was 42% (in absolute terms: 38,777).

Table 9: Migrant apprentices in Germany from 1993 to 2001

Year	Apprentices in total	Migrant apprentices	Proportion in %
<b>1993</b>	1,629,312	126,283	7.8
<b>1994</b>	1,579,879	125,887	8.0
<b>1995</b>	1,579,339	121,312	7.7
<b>1996</b>	1,592,227	116,246	7.3
<b>1997</b>	1,622,680	110,165	6.8
<b>1998</b>	1,657,764	104,250	6.3
<b>1999</b>	1,698,329	100,899	5.9
<b>2000</b>	1,702,017	96,928	5.7
<b>2001</b>	1,684,669	92,300	5.5

Source: Federal Statistical Office

Amongst the apprentices with a migrant background in 2001, young people with Turkish citizenship formed the largest group (40.3%) ahead of the Italians (11.4%), the Yugoslavians (7.4%) and the Greeks (5.1%) (cf. table 10 below).



Table 10: Apprentices according to fields of training and nationality 2001

Country of nationality	Total	Industry and trade		Craft professions		Public service		Self-employed		Others	
			in %		in %		in %		in %		in %
Germany	1,592,399	832,432	52.3	529,487	33.3	44,468	2.8	135,856	8.5	50,126	3.1
Greece	4,700	2,263	48.1	1,942	41.3	40	0.9	431	9.2	24	0.5
Italy	10,538	4,958	47.0	4,439	42.1	119	1.1	926	8.8	96	0.9
Austria	1,134	559	49.3	417	36.8	4	0.4	138	12.2	16	1.4
Portugal	1,539	770	50.0	584	37.9	17	1.1	148	9.6	20	1.3
Spain	1,514	913	60.3	444	29.3	22	1.5	124	8.2	11	0.7
Bosnia-Herzegovina	2,079	1,050	50.5	701	33.7	39	1.9	283	13.6	6	0.3
Yugoslavia	6,793	2,657	39.1	3,158	46.5	64	0.9	873	12.9	41	0.6
Croatia	4,157	2,680	64.5	953	22.9	80	1.9	429	10.3	15	0.4
Poland	2,145	997	46.5	622	29.0	22	1.0	480	22.4	24	1.1
Turkey	37,165	18,093	48.7	14,035	37.8	382	1.0	4,352	11.7	303	0.8
Morocco	1,361	970	71.3	53	3.9	33	2.4	288	21.2	17	1.2
Migrant apprentices in total	92,300	43,709	47.4	34,994	37.9	984	1.1	11,730	12.7	883	1.0
Total number of apprentices	1,684,699	876,141	52.0	564,481	33.5	45,452	2.7	147,586	8.8	51,009	3.0

Source: Federal Statistical Office

Apprentices with a foreign nationality are employed in the field of industry and trade with a percentage of 47.4% and in craft professions with a percentage of 37.9%. Table 10 also reveals that migrant apprentices are particularly underrepresented in public service. This often has a great deal to do with the regulations relating to becoming a civil servant, which in many fields of public service require the employee to be a German citizen (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung 2001a, pp. 78ff.).

If one examines the migrant apprentices differentiated according to *professional groups*, the following picture emerges: the migrant apprentices are concentrated in a limited number of jobs. The young women most often found an apprenticeship as hairdressers, shop assistants or assistants to doctors or dentists and the young men found positions as motor mechanics, painters or car sprayers. The business profession also belonged to the preferred apprenticeships of young migrants. However, young migrants were underrepresented in the information and communication sector as well as in more demanding service positions. Of particular interest for professional training are the 26 training professions introduced in the years 1996 to 1999 as they mostly occur in the manufacturing and service sectors (for example, electricians for IT systems, media designers for digital and print media). At the end of 2000, around 74,000 apprentices were employed in these newly created professions. The proportion of migrants in these new sectors, however, was only 3.8% and thus 2% under the proportion of all apprentice contracts.

#### 4.1.4 Measures at the transition between school and profession

As becomes clear from the over-proportional participation of young migrants in school-based preparatory measures for employment (vocational preparatory year or vocational foundation year) as well as from the falling participation in training in the dual system, it is increasingly difficult for young migrants to enter into vocational training after completing school. In addition to the general risk of youth unemployment which affects all young people, it is particularly some of the disadvantaged groups, to which young migrants also belong, who are especially subject to a high risk of unemployment. The disadvantage here exists 'when a person's chances of finding work are significantly reduced as a consequence of personal characteristics, or if this person does, in fact, find work, but only usually only in menial employment (with an unsecured employment status, a very high degree of flexibility, poor level of payment, etc.)' (Nicaise/Bollens 2000, p. 13).

Thus, at this juncture, brief mention should be made of some of the measures which are aimed at facilitating the transition between school and profession and the participation of young migrants in these offers of training should be examined.<sup>20</sup>

##### 1. School-based preparatory measures for employment

The aim of school-based preparatory measures for employment is for young people to obtain the skills to take up vocational training. In the case of the *Berufsvorbereitungsjahr* (a year-long preparatory course for employment), this is to be achieved, above all, by the *Hauptschule* (secondary modern school) qualification being obtained later than is usual, for example, or by making up for deficits (for example, by improving the pupil's German skills). In the *Berufsgrundbildungsjahr* (vocational foundation year), job-related qualifications are more in the foreground. Here, qualifications can be obtained in specific areas (for example, metalwork, housekeeping). Successful completion of this year-long basic vocational training course can result in this period being counted towards the vocational training in the dual system. As already mentioned, the participation quotas show that school-based preparatory vocational measures quantitatively play a significant role for non-German pupils. Clearly directed support of young people who are not yet ready for vocational training by means of a preparatory year is, of course, principally to be evaluated positively, too. It is problematic, however, that the participants in such preparatory years bring with them differing individual prerequisites and interests and thus attention can only partially be paid to specific problematic situations such as insufficient German skills, for example (cf., for example, Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung 1997, 30f.).

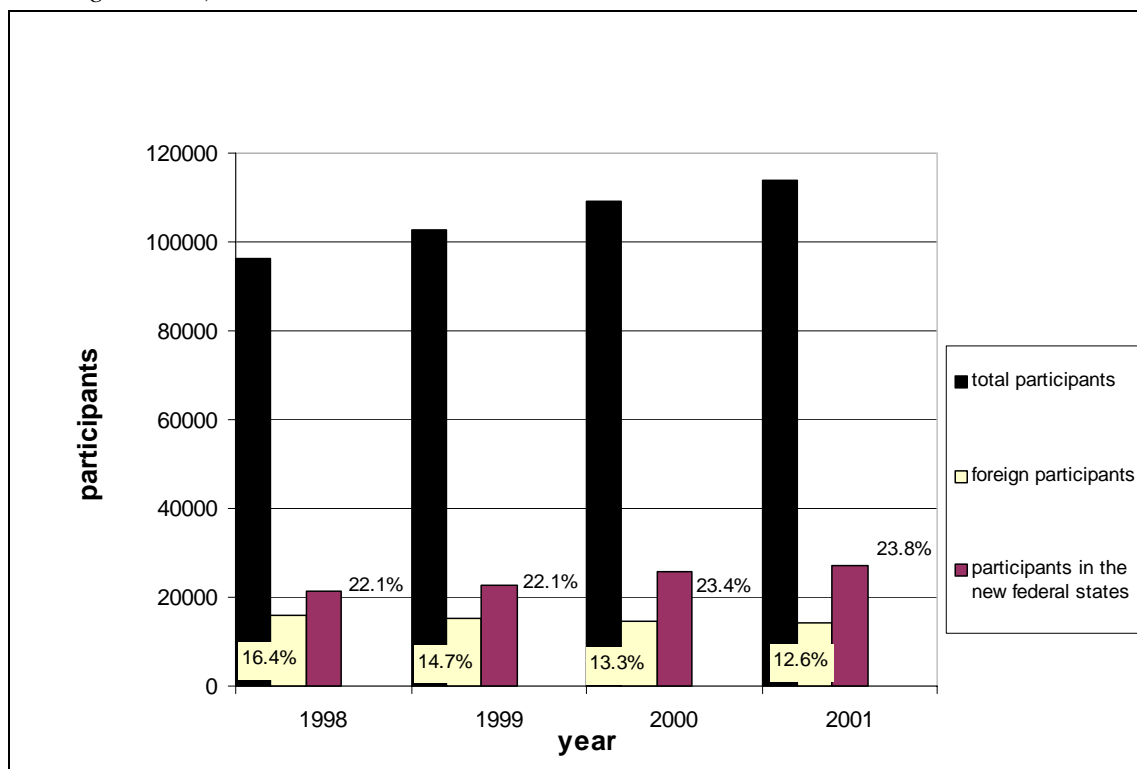
##### 2. Preparatory measures for employment offered by the Federal Employment Office (*Bundesanstalt für Arbeit*)

In 2000, a total of 14,482 young foreigners participated in professional preparatory courses offered by the Federal Employment Office. This constituted a decrease of approximately 600 participants compared with the previous year, although the total number of participants has increased.

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<sup>20</sup> For more detailed information on the transition from school to profession, see the analytical study on the field of employment.

*Diagram 1: Participation of young migrants in preparatory measures for employment offered by the Federal Employment Office (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit) (BBE-, tip- and foundation training courses)*



Source: Managerial reports of the Federal Employment Office; own calculations and presentation

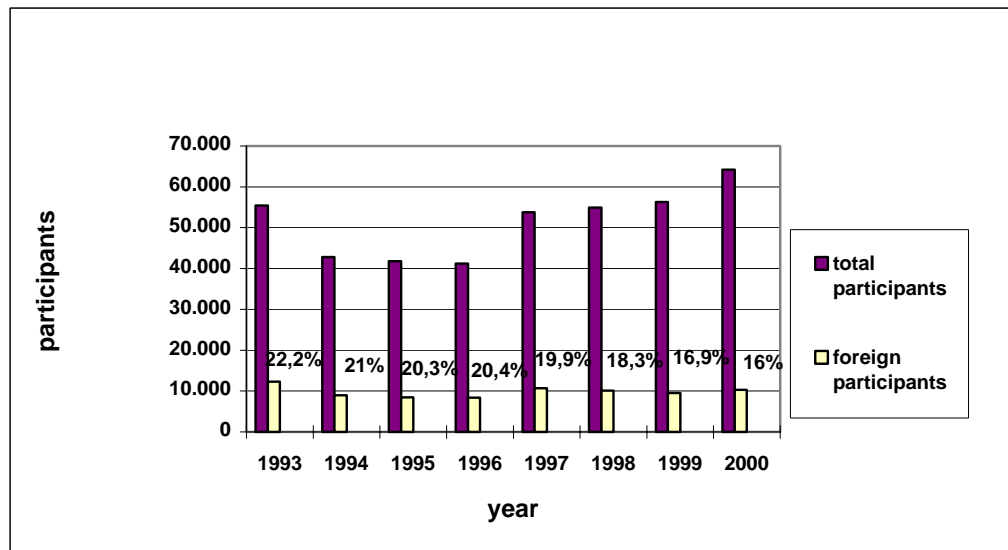
### 3. Measures according to SGB III (Code of Social Law)

Germans and foreigners under the age of 25 who, despite participating in a preparatory measures for employment, were not able to obtain an apprenticeship can participate in professional training measures in line with the Code of Social Law III:

*Assistance offered parallel to training* should be mentioned as a particularly and qualitatively important measure of this programme. Young people who have entered into a training contract with a firm are offered such accompanying assistance since there is a danger that, without this help, the training may not be successfully completed for a variety of reasons – for example, because of social difficulties or psycho-sociological problems. These forms of assistance may comprise, for example, subject-based language and theory lessons, support from social education workers, but also the fostering of co-operation between young Germans and foreigners as well as the fostering of the dialogue between parents, teachers and those involved in offering vocational training on-the-job.

In the year 2000, 10,300 young foreigners made use of the assistance offered during their training. Although this meant an increase in the absolute number of participants, the proportion of young foreigners involved in such measures alongside their training has been continually sinking since 1996.

Diagram 2: Participation of young migrants in assistance offered parallel to training (in the 'old' federal states)

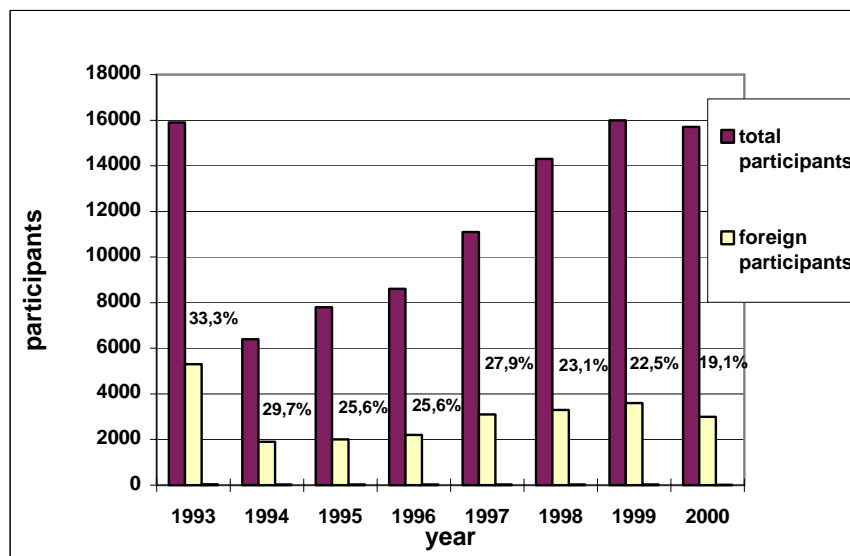


Source: Managerial reports of the Federal Employment Office; own calculations and presentation

If training is not available on-the-job despite such assistance programmes, then it is still possible to complete an apprenticeship in institutions which are outside the workplace or on a higher level than it.

These *'off-the-job' institutions* offer training in recognised professions, but they additionally give integrated, intensive support as an accompaniment to the training. Along with imparting lacking general education and offering supportive measures to assist in acquiring the subject-related theory and practice, the support offered during training also comprises assistance from social education workers geared to the target group and its needs as well as special language courses.

Diagram 3: Participation of young migrants in vocational training in 'off-the-job' institutions ('old' federal states)



Source: Managerial reports of the Federal Employment Office; own calculations and presentation

In 1993, 33.3% of all apprentices in 'off-the-job' institutions in the 'old' federal states were of non-German origin. This proportion has since dropped to 19.1%, however. An even more dramatic decrease in the proportion of participants would become apparent if one included the 'new' federal states, that is, those belonging to the former German Democratic Republic, as here emphasis is placed on the support for 'off-the-job' training. 19,100 young people took part in this measure in Eastern Germany, whilst in the western part only 15,700 completed their training in such 'off-the-job' institutions.

#### 4. Immediate programme of the Federal Government

At the end of 1998, an immediate programme was instituted by the Federal Government with the aim of obtaining employment or a training course for 100,000 young people. In this programme, which is also known by the name 'JUMP' ('Young people with a perspective' [own translation] *Jugend mit Perspektive*) or '100,000 Jobs', various measures have been incorporated which are aimed at young people under the age of 25 who are without training or have been unemployed for at least three months (cf. Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 1999, 19). These include, for example, support for local and regional projects to utilise and increase offers of on-the-job training for applicants who do not yet have a placement. As the target group of this crash programme, young migrants were explicitly named. An analysis of the target groups reached reveals that young people from the 'new' federal states, young people who have been unemployed on a long-term basis and disabled young people are over-represented whilst *young migrants are slightly underrepresented* (cf. Dietrich 2001). In 1999, 13.1% ('old' federal states: 19.3%) of the participants were of non-German origin and in the year 2000 the figure had dropped to only 10.3% ('old' federal states: 16.9%).

It is of particular importance to mention, however, that, in the evaluation of the crash programme, distinctions are not only made on the basis of nationality, but also on the basis of the country the participants were born in. Thus, it is possible not only to provide information on the participation of young migrants, but also on young ethnic German migrants (*Aussiedler*) or, in part, about naturalised young people. In addition, differences can also be made between first and second generation – as long as the young people have not been naturalised. This is particularly important since the varying degrees of educational achievement of these groups can be shown and possible integration processes can be presented. In the 'old' federal states, 11.4% of migrants of the second generation, 7.4% of young migrants with foreign citizenship and 6.2% of young ethnic German migrants took part in the programme of the Federal Government.

The study of their subsequent whereabouts reveals that, after completing the programme, migrants and ethnic German migrants even have a *lower risk* of being unemployed than German young people do: in contrast to 33.5% of all participants, only 23.9% of ethnic German migrants and 28.9% of migrants have to accept a new phase of unemployment upon completing the programme (cf. loc. cit., p. 19). However, these group-specific differences lose importance when statistically assessing the type of measure, performance at school, age, family background (above all, the professional status of the parents) and the region. Here, the structural weakness, which especially affects young Germans, in the 'new' federal states is of particular significance. A closer analysis of the assignment of specific groups of people to individual measures is still required as well (cf. *ibid.*).

## 5. Special measures for migrants

Alongside these general measures offered at the transition between school and employment which are open to both young Germans and migrants, there are several special measures which are explicitly directed towards young migrants. Here, we may mention *bi-national training projects*, measures that foster *training in "foreign-run" companies or networks*, which aim to improve the training situation of migrants. In sum, it must be said that there is an endless variety of measures, which are specially directed towards young migrants. The scope ranges from associations and action groups to larger co-operative associations and institutions, which have branches in various towns and cities in the meantime (cf. for a survey of some projects Schreiber/Schreier 2000).

Nonetheless, the general preparatory measures for employment offered by schools or the Federal Employment Office are quantitatively more important for migrants. When examining the participation quotas, a continual reduction in the proportion of young migrants can be observed.<sup>21</sup> A possible cause for the reduction in the number of non-German participants in general measures relating to preparation and training for professional life could certainly be the increased support given in the 'new' federal states. Although more young people are supported as a result, the low percentage of non-Germans in Eastern Germany means that young foreigners can hardly make use of this advantage. A closer examination of the proportion of participation in the 'old' federal states, however, reveals that this fact alone is an insufficient explanation as here, too, the proportion of participation of young foreigners is also sinking although the percentage of young foreigners amongst unemployed young people has not grown any less. The increased number of naturalisations<sup>22</sup> could also be a cause for the relative reduction in the number of participants in measures aimed at professional integration. However, it must be said that these numbers are still relatively low so that they, too, cannot be seen as the sole explanation for this phenomenon.

### 4.1.5 University/Academic Qualification

*Table 11: Migrant students at German universities from the winter term (WS) 1993/94 to the winter term 2001/2002*

Term	Total number of students	Students of foreign nationality	Quota of migrant students	Of which <i>Bildungsinländer</i>	Percentage of migrant students
winter term (WS) 1993/94	1,867,264	134,391	7.2	47,641	35.4
WS 1994/95	1,872,490	141,460	7.6	48,851	34.5
WS 1995/96	1,857,906	146,472	7.9	48,083	32.8
WS 1996/97	1,838,099	152,206	8.3	52,173	34.3
WS 1997/98	1,824,107	158,474	8.7	54,758	34.6
WS 1998/99	1,801,233	165,994	9.2	57,209	34.5
WS 1999/2000	1,773,956	175,140	9.9	62,257	35.6
WS 2000/2001	1,799,338	187,027	10.4	61,313	32.8
WS 2001/2002	1,868,666	206,141	11.0	63,355	30.7

Source: Federal Statistical Office

<sup>21</sup> The sole exception here is in school-based preparatory measures for employment where the proportion of migrants is relatively stable. However, this is also due to the 10 years of compulsory education where many young people are obliged to take part in school-based measures if they do not start vocational training.

<sup>22</sup> In the year 2000, 31,200 young people aged between 15 and 25 were naturalised. This corresponds to a proportion of naturalisation of 2.8% in this population group (cf. *Statistisches Bundesamt* 2002).

In the period commencing with the winter term 1993/1994 to the winter term 2001/2002, both the absolute number as well as the percentage of migrant students amongst the total number of students as a whole has risen continually.

One must differentiate between two groups of foreign students. On the one hand, there are the so-called 'educational non-nationals' (*Bildungsausländer*) who have obtained the right to study abroad and come to Germany for the purpose of studying; on the other hand, there are the so-called 'educational nationals' (*Bildungsinländer*). They have obtained the right to study in Germany, have usually been born in Germany, but are not German citizens and are thus not migrants in this sense.<sup>23</sup> The proportion of such students lies relatively constantly at around one third of all students of foreign nationality (between 30% and 36%). The percentage of 'educational nationals' amongst all students was 3.4% in the winter term 2001/2002.

By far the largest part of the '**educational nationals**' possess the citizenship of one of the former recruitment states or their successors. 29.8% of all 'educational nationals' alone have Turkish citizenship. The highest quota of 'educational nationals' accordingly are students from Croatia (83.8%), Turkey (78.4%), Portugal (68.7%) and Yugoslavia (67.9%). The majority of these 'educational nationals' belong to the second generation of migrants. In general, one can assume that members of the second generation of migrants are clearly underrepresented in the *Fachhochschulen* and universities compared with their proportion in the total population of the corresponding age group.

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<sup>23</sup> However, there could be foreign students within the group of 'educational nationals' who only come to Germany for the purpose of studying. Here, people are concerned who have obtained their right to study at university from a German school located abroad.

*Table 12: Migrant students at German universities according to selected countries of origin in the winter term 2001/2002*

Country of origin	Students in winter term 2001/2002	Of which <i>Bildungsinländer</i>	Quota of <i>Bildungsinländer</i> among students, related to their respective nationality
France	6,356	744	11.7
Greece	7,451	4,060	54.5
Italy	6,879	3,155	45.9
Austria	6,422	2,240	34.9
Spain	5,665	1,650	29.1
Bulgaria	7,321	367	5.0
Yugoslavia	3,453	2,345	67.9
Croatia	4,734	3,967	83.8
Poland	10,936	2,109	19.3
Russian Federation	8,383	1,285	15.3
Turkey	24,041	18,853	78.4
Ukraine	4,917	868	17.7
Egypt	1,278	56	4.4
Cameroon	4,464	155	3.5
Morocco	6,765	1,195	17.7
Tunisia	1,426	185	13.0
USA	3,318	618	18.6
China	14,070	547	3.9
Georgian Republic	2,033	60	3.0
India	2,088	343	16.4
Indonesia	2,246	230	10.2
Iran	5,757	2,828	49.1
Republic of Korea	5,144	1,415	27.5
Vietnam	1,424	762	53.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>206,141</b>	<b>63,355</b>	<b>30.7</b>

Source: Federal Statistical Office

With regard to preferences for subjects, there are clear differences between 'educational nationals' and 'non-nationals'. Thus, 27.3% of 'educational nationals', but only 15.3% of 'educational non-nationals' decided to study philology and cultural studies. 34.8% of 'educational nationals' chose a subject from law, economics and the social sciences, but only 25.6% of the 'educational non-nationals'. Engineering sciences were also more popular with the 'educational nationals' with a percentage of 19.7% than with the 'educational non-nationals' (18.3%).



*Table 13: Migrant students according to the subject groups and the 12 most frequent countries of nationality in the winter term 2001/2002*

Country of nationality	Total	foreign students by subject groups				
		philology and cultural studies	law, economics and social sciences	mathematics and natural sciences	engineering sciences	medical sciences
Turkey	24,041	3,286	9,360	3,747	5,558	1,444
China	14,070	1,889	3,965	3,355	3,751	224
Poland	10,936	3,604	4,427	1,028	901	233
Russian Federation	8,383	2,539	2,707	1,350	758	234
Greece	7,451	1,852	2,297	1,014	1,028	820
Bulgaria	7,321	1,568	2,762	1,413	861	251
Italy	6,879	2,582	1,773	839	993	194
Morocco	6,765	771	1,108	1,569	3,065	87
Austria	6,422	1,783	2,082	1,018	745	202
France	6,356	2,267	2,068	573	974	104
Iran	5,757	699	916	1,374	1,529	980
Spain	5,665	1,911	1,486	698	1,000	156
<b>Total</b>	<b>206,141</b>	<b>48,267</b>	<b>58,527</b>	<b>34,075</b>	<b>38,637</b>	<b>10,142</b>
Of which	63,355	9,682	22,017	9,956	12,493	4,148
<i>Bildungsinländer</i>						

Source: Federal Statistical Office

## 4.2 Methods and results of selected studies

The results of studies which particularly examine the *second generation*, that is, the children of migrants already born in Germany or who came to Germany before their seventh birthday and thus experienced complete scholastic socialisation in Germany, show the second migrant generation has certainly made achievements in education, even if this not reflected in the official statistics. The methods of these studies were, on the one hand, empirical research, particularly on the basis of interviews. Thereby, questions could also be asked about the indicators which influence the educational career of children from families of foreign origin such as the point in time when migration took place and the length of time their parents have been in Germany, their migration status, the generation status to which the children belong, the age at which they entered Germany and any interruptions to their stay there. On the other hand, the results of some studies are based on evaluations of the micro-census and the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP). These differentiated sets of data, along with other characteristics, also take the social origin into account referring to the profession of the head of the family. However, they only allow assessments to be made relating to the larger nationality groups (Turks, Yugoslavians, Italians, Greeks).

The following studies must be mentioned:

- *Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies towards Second Generation Migrant Youth in a Comparative European Perspective (EFFNATIS) (Heckmann/Lederer/Worbs 2001):*

In the framework of this study, 287 Turkish and 283 Yugoslavian 'Children of International Migrants' (CIM) were interviewed, that is, children born to Turkish parents or parents from the former Yugoslavia who had come to Germany by the age of 6 at the latest and who were aged between 16 and 25 at the time of the interviews. 13.6% had German citizenship. As a comparative group, 215 autochthonous young Germans were interviewed, too. The interviews took place in Nuremberg in 1999; an evaluation of the micro-census was undertaken additionally.

In the following, the central results of the study referring to the field of education will be briefly presented.

*Table 14: School qualifications of the group interviewed (in percent)*

	German Autochthonous	Turkish CIM	Former Yugoslavian CIM
<b>Without qualification</b>	3.0	6.7	1.6
<b>Hauptschule qualification</b>	24.8	64.4	55.0
<b>Realschule qualification</b>	32.1	15.9	28.1
<b>Qualification permitting university or polytechnic attendance or university qualification</b>	40.0	13.0	15.3

Source: EFFNATIS field study data

If one regards the qualifications attained, then a great difference between the group of autochthonous Germans and the second migrant generation becomes apparent. Thus, more than 70% of the Turks and more than half the Yugoslavians interviewed have either no school-leaving qualification or, at best, one from a secondary modern school (*Hauptschule*), whilst they are severely underrepresented in the higher forms of qualifications. On the other hand, at least the Yugoslavian CIM have almost drawn level with the Germans in the intermediate qualifications.

A differentiation according to gender reveals that 'a slight tendency of better education for Turkish and Yugoslavian female CIM in comparison to male CIM can be identified' (Lederer 2000, p. 26). In addition, in the EFFNATIS study, research was undertaken into the connection between attending a kindergarten and achievement in education. It became apparent that 'for CIM, especially with a Turkish background who attended kindergarten in Germany it is more likely to achieve a higher educational level' (Lederer 2000, p. 28). Thus, 21.3% of those who attended kindergarten achieved a higher form of qualification, whereas this was only the case for 8.1% of those who did not attend kindergarten.

*Table 15: Inter-generational education mobility by group*

	German Autochthonous	Turkish CIM	Former Yugoslavian CIM
<b>upwardly mobile</b>	18.9	32.5	31.7
<b>downwardly mobile</b>	8.0	9.1	15.9
<b>constancy</b>	73.1	58.4	52.4

Source: EFFNATIS field study data

In a *comparison between the second and first migrant generation* (inter-generational mobility), it can be determined that 'one third of each CIM group in Germany can be described as upwardly mobile with reference to their parents; i.e. former Yugoslavian and Turkish CIM slowly "catch up"' (Lederer 2000, p. 32). It must be mentioned, however, that the starting position of the migrant children is significantly different from that of the autochthonous group. Thus, the great majority of autochthonous parents already have a higher qualification (about 75%), whereas this is true for less than a third of the CIM parents (in the case of Turkish parents) or less than half (in the case of Yugoslavian parents).

In sum, it can be said that, despite the poorer results in the German education system of the second generation compared to the autochthonous Germans, *progress in comparison to the parental generation* of the CIM, that is, to the first generation, can be registered. This result was also confirmed by the additional evaluation of the micro-census data which revealed that the second generation on average fares better in the German education system than the group of migrants as a whole and thus takes up an intermediate position between the latter and the group of autochthonous Germans.

- ***Evaluation of integration processes in Frankfurt am Main (Straßburger 2001):***

In this study, interviews were carried out with approximately 1,300 people between the ages of 18 and 40, both Germans and migrants who either were born in Germany or had lived in Frankfurt at least since they were 11. The interviews took place in Frankfurt in the year 2000. In addition, data from the communal (education) statistics were also evaluated and expert interviews were conducted.

The evaluation of the official education statistics in the city of Frankfurt confirms the differences in education between young Germans and young migrants as presented in chapter 4 (cf. Straßburger 2001, pp. 90ff.). The evaluation of the interviews carried out with the second migrant generation puts this picture into perspective, though, and reveals that the achievements in education of this group are significantly higher than those of the migrants in general registered in the official statistics. Particularly the migrant children who were born in Germany and who have mainly experienced socialisation in Germany have almost reached the level of education of the native Germans (cf. Straßburger 2001, pp. 167ff.). Thus, 38.6% of 'immigrants' have a higher level of education (A-levels (*Abitur*) or similar qualifications) and 41.6% have obtained an intermediate qualification (certificate from the secondary modern school (*Hauptschule*) or GCSE (*mittlere Reife*)). In the comparable German group, the statistics for higher qualifications are 44.4% and 36.3% for intermediate qualifications. In addition, women have somewhat higher achievements in education than men do: 36% of the female 'immigrants', but only 33% of the males have A-levels or similar qualifications. 42% of the female 'immigrants' and 38% of their male counterparts have intermediate qualifications. Correspondingly, women have lower qualifications less seldom than men do (13% to 19%).

The study also shows that the level of education is closely linked to the point in time when the migration took place or to the fact of being born in Germany. Whilst more than every fourth 'newcomer entering education at a later stage' (*Seiteneinsteiger*), as they are known, leaves school without qualifications or with only a basic qualification from the secondary modern school, this is only the case for every ninth migrant born in Germany. With an increasing *length of socialisation* in Germany, the number of intermediate or higher qualifications also rises. The research additionally shows that the achievements in education of the 'immigrants' also depends on whether a kindergarten was attended. In the case of 'immigrants' born in Germany who did not attend kindergarten, the percentage of those with A-levels is almost a third less, and the proportion of people with lacking or lower qualification more than a third higher than those who attended kindergarten.

In the field of vocational training, too, an improvement in the situation can also be registered. Thus, 48% of 'immigrants' and 47% of Germans completed vocational training either at school or 'on-the-job'. However, 'immigrants' have slightly fewer academic qualifications than the comparable German group (10% and 12% respectively). In addition, in the case of the Germans, amongst those interviewees who do not (yet) have a professional qualification there are significantly more people who have A-levels than amongst the 'immigrants' who have completed professional training. As a result of this study, it can be said that, although the integration of the second migrant generation has made good progress in the field of vocational training, there are still several deficits to be noted (cf. Straßburger 2001, p.174).

- ***Study on ethnic differences at the transition from primary to secondary schooling (Kristen 2000 and 2002):***

The study researches into *ethnic differences in the school placement* of German pupils and migrant children at the transition from primary education into one of the three secondary school types (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, *Gymnasium*) using the example of six primary schools in Baden-Württemberg. The sets of data comprise information on 3,354 pupils in class 4 (before the transition from primary to secondary schooling) in 151 school classes from six primary schools in Baden-Württemberg. The study covers a period which varied from school to school of up to sixteen school years (from 1983/1984 to 1999/2000).

As these are the *points of transition in the educational career* at which courses of education with varying degrees of difficulty are chosen, they are particularly suited for research into differences in education (cf. Kristen 2002, p. 535). In a school system where allocation to a particular school type is based on achievement (grades), it could be expected that the same school grades would show the same quota of transition into the various school forms, independent of the membership of an ethnic group. After checking the school grades, if there are differences between German and migrant children, then the question arises as to the reasons for these differences.<sup>24</sup>

'The school placement of various ethnic groups is investigated via logistical regression and logistical multi-level models. The central independent working model is the educational achievement of a child, which is operationalised here via the transition into one of the three school types' [own translation] (Kristen 2002, p. 539). The ethnic groups taken into account are Turks, Italians, Yugoslavians and ethnic German migrants. German pupils form the reference group.

It becomes apparent that migrant children on average change from primary school to *Hauptschule* more frequently than German pupils of the same age do and thus have correspondingly lower rates of transition to the *Realschule* and *Gymnasium*. In addition, there are significant differences between the various ethnic groups. Turkish and Italian children fare worst with their rate of transition to the *Hauptschule* being more than twice that of their fellow German pupils. Compared with this, German children change over to the *Gymnasium* four times more frequently than Turkish or Italian primary school pupils do. Yugoslavian pupils occupy a middle position: they fare worse than Germans, but better than Turkish and Italian pupils. In contrast, children of ethnic German migrants have only slight differences in their rates of transition in comparison to German pupils.

The study reaches the conclusion that, for the transition into one of the three school types, the grades in the subjects of mathematics and German are of central importance, as may be expected, whereby particularly the achievements in the subject of German play a key role. At the same time, checking the school grades has not led to a complete disappearance of the effects of ethnic origin. Thus, ethnic origin plays a decisive role - especially in the case of

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<sup>24</sup> According to Gomolla/Radtke 2002, forms of institutional discrimination play a role here (cf. chapter 5.1.3).

Turkish and Italian children - in the question as to whether a child will change to the *Hauptschule* or not. In the decision between transition to the *Realschule* or *Gymnasium*, in contrast, there are no significant ethnic differences, with the result that ethnic origin loses its significance for those children who make the transition to a more advanced secondary school (*Realschule* or *Gymnasium*). For the other children, however, the question arises as to the possible causes for the existing differences. 'At this point, it seems plausible to suggest discrimination on the part of the school. However, this conclusion is not definitive as other, thus far unexamined differences could also be responsible for the continuing existence of such differences' [own translation] (Kristen 2002, p. 549).

These factors include the influence of the school and its environment, for example. In this study, especially the effects of the ethnic composition of the pupils were investigated. Pupils who are, on average, comparatively less successful are concentrated in school classes with a high proportion of migrants and/or a high proportion of children from lower social classes. 'The standards of achievement are generally set at a lower level and can create an correspondingly negative climate for aspiration' [own translation] (Kristen 2002, p. 537). This, in turn, can be seen in the educational achievements and, in consequence, in the decisions taken in education by the pupils and their parents at the point of transition into secondary schools. In addition, it is usually necessary in school classes with a high proportion of migrants to pay particular attention to language acquisition as the children on average have lower achievements in subjects which are centred on language (German). This means that the standards of achievement in the subject of German are comparatively low as, otherwise, many pupils would not be able to follow the lessons. Furthermore, the time for other learning processes is shortened. For the situation at the point of transition, this could mean that teachers in whose classes there are many comparably weak children will be rather more reticent in recommending a higher level of education for their pupils.

The study confirms that particularly the *proportion of migrants in the school or in the class* influences the decision taken at the point of transition or in the placement of pupils at the transition between primary and secondary education. 'Those who grow up in an environment where there are only few migrant children will profit from this fact at the point of transition, whereas correspondingly negative effects result for children in classes with a high proportion of migrants' [own translation] (Kristen 2002, p. 548). After taking the concentration of migrants into account, nationality effects can hardly be determined any more (the current discussion on 'bussing', as it is known, can be linked to this point).

- **PISA study (Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung 2001 and 2002):**

In 2000, within the framework of the international PISA study, a representative cross-section of approximately 5,000 15-year-old pupils from a total of 219 schools was selected in Germany. Within the framework of the current PISA study, the participation in education of young people from migrant families was researched more closely for the first time. The cross-section also included 1,056 children from families with a migrant background. In order to avoid the aforementioned weaknesses of the official education statistics, questions were asked in the study as to the parents' and the 15-year-olds' native country and the language of communication used within the family. In addition, in Germany, the mother tongue and the length of residence of the interviewees was also registered. This is particularly important as also Germans with a migrant background (naturalised Germans, ethnic German migrants) can be identified in this way. Just under 22% of the 15-year-olds came from families in which at least one parent was not born in Germany. In somewhat more than 15% of the families, both parents had migrated to Germany. If one regards only Western Germany, then the proportions were even higher: 27% and 19% respectively. Approximately half of all the 15-year-olds of whom at least one parent was not born in Germany have been living in Germany since they

were born. More than 70% of the young people from these families attended educational institutions throughout the system, from kindergarten to the end of compulsory schooling. 'Newcomers entering education at a later stage' (*Seiteneinsteiger*) could only be found in any significant number in the case of families of ethnic German migrants, refugees or asylum seekers, but also in these cases enrolment in school had already taken place at primary-school age.

Despite longer residence, the migrant families clearly differ in their social structure from German families. Almost two thirds of the role models of these families who were not born in Germany are employed as workers; approximately half of them carry out semi-skilled jobs (cf. Baumert/Schümer 2001, pp. 341 ff.).

The PISA study revealed that there is a difference in the participation in education between children from families in which both parents were born in Germany or families where one parent was born in Germany and children of whom both parents immigrated into Germany. The participation in education of young people from the first two groups differs only slightly from each other in the relative *Hauptschule* and *Realschule* area. Thus, children from families where one parent was born in Germany attend *Hauptschule* slightly more frequently and represented in the *Realschule* slightly less so. In contrast, young people from purely migrant families are greatly over-represented at *Hauptschule* and greatly underrepresented at the *Gymnasium*. In addition, it became clear that the differences in educational opportunities between children from families with and without a migrant background are far less than the disparities between young people from different social classes. That means, particularly in Germany, the **connection between achievement and social background** is especially noticeable. A further analysis, however, came to the conclusion that neither social position nor cultural distance as such are primarily responsible for disparities in the participation in education, but much more the competence/lack of competence in the German language. Linguistic deficits cumulatively affect content-related subjects with the consequence that people with insufficient reading comprehension skills are hampered in their acquisition of competence in all academic fields (cf. Baumert/Schümer 2001, p. 379). 'For children from migrant families, **linguistic competence** is the decisive obstacle in their educational career' (Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung: Schülerleistungen im internationalen Vergleich - PISA 2000, 2001, p. 37).

In a national amendment to the PISA study, research was additionally undertaken into the competence of 33,809 15-year-olds and 33,766 pupils in the ninth grade from 1,460 schools. The main aim of this PISA-E study, as it was called, was a **comparison of abilities between the individual federal states**. It became apparent that the achievement differentials between children from families where at least one parent was born in Germany and children from purely migrant families varied greatly from federal state to federal state. The federal state of Bavaria thus distinguished itself due to its 'consistently low disparities by a relatively high level of competence in the migrant group'. In the area of reading comprehension, the differences in achievement between young people with or without a migrant background were relatively small in the states of Hessen and Rhineland-Palatinate. In contrast, 'a large achievement differential across the board could be found in the state of Bremen and North Rhine-Westphalia' (cf. Baumert et al. 2002, p. 58). These results which are differentiated according to federal state reveal, above all, that migrant children profit to a great extent from the general quality of the school system. In other words, not only the support measures offered to foster the integration of migrant children into the school system are important, but also the regular measures and educational offers within an education system make a significant contribution to increasing the equality of opportunity for migrants and autochthonous Germans.

These, as well as other studies named in the *templates*, unanimously come to the conclusion that, although the level of education of the second generation has increased significantly

compared to that of the first generation, it is still low compared to that of the autochthonous young people, however. The second generation, with regard to education, thus assumes a position between the parental generation and the corresponding German age group. Similar to the data from the official education statistics, these studies also come to the conclusion that Turkish and Italian children and young people in particular fare worst in the German education system.

Whereas the descriptive findings about migrant children's educational attainments are numerous and quite consistent, the discourse about possible determinants shows a more fragmented picture. Roughly speaking, two types of approaches to an explanation can be discerned: on the one hand, explanations based on the idea that the lower educational attainments could be traced back to shortages on the part of the migrants themselves, such as the parents' social status and level of education, linguistic deficits, cultural differences, etc.. On the other hand, there are explanations which focus on the structural characteristics of the education system 'which ensure that, in the course of school education and vocational training, a multiply staggered filtration process comes into play which - in comparison with German pupils - leads to a stronger gradual 'weeding out' of foreign children and young people' [own translation] (Thesis on 'institutionalised discrimination', Gogolin 2000, p. 80). The question of discrimination is tackled in the next section.

## 5 Discrimination and Xenophobia in Schools

### 5.1 Discrimination

It is extremely difficult from the methodological point of view to assess the extent to which the aforementioned differences in the educational situation can be traced back to forms of discrimination or whether they are caused by determiners 'of normal social differences', such as differences in the opportunities to obtain education as a result of different social backgrounds. Several studies have attempted to deal with the *problem of the measurement of discrimination* in the education sector. As an example, one may briefly mention the methods employed by Alba/Handl/Müller in their study 'Ethnische Ungleichheit im deutschen Bildungssystem'<sup>25</sup> ('Ethnic Inequality in the German Education System'). Data from the micro-census and the Socio-economic Panel were used as a basis for the study.

Since discrimination can usually not be measured directly, Alba et al. attempted to deduce its appearance indirectly from still existent ethnic differences, so to speak as a remaining 'residual category' after all the important explanatory factors/variables had been checked. The following control variables were employed: length of residence, generation status, socio-economic status of the parents, the conditions in the place of residence, sex, the number of children in the household, cultural differences (operationalised by the existent language skills), the orientation towards the society of origin (intention to return, transfer of money to the home country, identity as German or migrant, continuity in the school career) and the ethnic composition of the place of residence. Alba et al. determined that, even after checking all these factors, significant disadvantages, particularly for children of Turkish and Italian parents, remain in place. Whether this 'residual effect' can be attributed to discrimination cannot be determined absolutely since one cannot be completely certain if the decisive explanatory factors have been controlled.

Beside problems of the measuring of discrimination the *differing definitions* of the term discrimination present another difficulty when dealing with this topic. In the literature on the

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<sup>25</sup> Although the study has already been published in 1994, the methodological approach is still applicable.

topic, for instance, *direct and indirect* discrimination are differentiated as well as *immediate and indirect* discrimination. Another frequent differentiation which partly overlaps with the aforementioned terms is individual (mostly direct) discrimination and institutional (mostly indirect) discrimination. Discrimination in these concepts is defined as, on the one hand, discrimination as behaviour of one or several persons, and on the other hand as discrimination that is caused by rules (which might be neutral sometimes) or habits in certain institutions. Farley (1988, 361) subsumes under the term *individual discrimination* (here racist and ethnic discrimination) "any behaviour on the part of an individual which leads to unequal treatment on the basis of race or ethnicity". *Institutional discrimination* is defined by Farley (ibid.) with "arrangements or practices in social institutions and their related organisations that tend to favor one racial or ethnic group (usually the majority group) over another"<sup>26</sup>.

It is our opinion that as a special case of indirect discrimination one should mention another aspect: *discrimination as a form of non-performed assistance*. Especially in the education system it is necessary to promote disadvantaged groups. This implies that equal rights do not necessarily mean equal opportunities. Sometimes it is necessary to create equal starting points for everybody in the first place. As an example the additional tuition in pre-school, especially the additional tuition of language skills for migrant children could certainly be mentioned here which should be taken into account to a much greater extent in future.

Apart from the aforementioned differentiation of various types of discrimination another category is of considerable importance which might happen in all areas: "*subjectively perceived discrimination*", independently of the fact if real discrimination has taken place or not. This is, on the one hand, the category that can most easily be measured, for example, in interviews; on the other hand, the subjectively perceived discrimination can play an important role for the feelings and behaviour of migrants, even if real discrimination has not taken place: "If the host society is perceived as "closed" and prejudiced, this may lead to a reinforcement of ethnic ties with negative consequences for the cultural, social and identificational processes" (Heckmann/Lederer/Worbs 2001, S. 63). Thus, the individual

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<sup>26</sup> Within these rough categories there are several specifications. As an example Wrench (2001) could be mentioned. He differentiates between individual or direct discrimination, such „Racist discrimination“, „Statistical discrimination“ and „Societal discrimination“. With „Racist discrimination“ he means „actions by racist or prejudiced people who hold and act on negative stereotypes about a social group“, whereas he describes certain actions with the term „Statistical discrimination“ „which are based not on personal racism or prejudice but on perceptions of the minority group as having characteristics which will have negative consequences for [e.g.] the organisation. With „Societal discrimination“ he means „actions based on the fact that although a person may be free of hostility or prejudice, he or she is aware that other people have negative attitudes towards members of a social group.“ The decisive criteria for this differentiation by Wrench are therefore the reasons for somebody to discriminate. This differentiation is therefore not totally unproblematic as the underlying criteria are not observable. In the fight against discrimination, however, this might be very important to know.

Wrench structures institutional and structural discrimination into „Indirect discrimination“, „Past-in-present discrimination“ and „Side effect discrimination“. „Indirect discrimination“ happens “where apparently ‘neutral’ [...] practices [...] discriminate against members of an ethnic group”. The definition of Past-in-present discrimination is similar. Here, he subsumes neutral practices that have a greater influence on certain groups of migrants though „because of historical, rather than current, intentional discrimination“, e.g. „if past discrimination has confined minority group members to inferior jobs, then patterns of structured inequality will persist over more than one generation even after the discrimination has been removed.“ Also „Side effect discrimination“ refers to previous incidents. “This is when discrimination in one social sphere will generate inequality in another social sphere, even when there is no discrimination in the second sphere.” For example, discrimination in the education system might lead to discrimination in the working life even if discrimination does not happen on the labour market.

As a third aspect Wrench also differentiates „Legal discrimination“ which might also be subsumed under institutional discrimination or under direct / immediate discrimination.



perception of discrimination is also of importance, irrespective of the extent to which this subjective perception corresponds to the actual discrimination.

Different behaviour in school might indeed be perceived as discrimination by children and pupils with migration background. This has been confirmed, on the one hand, by personnel of anti-discrimination offices that also deal with cases of discrimination in the education system now and then. On the other hand, there is a number of studies in which young people with migration background were asked whether they had personally ever experienced discrimination in different areas of life, for example in school. These studies will be presented briefly in the following.

### ***EFFNATIS Study:***

In the EFFNATIS survey the respondents (young Turks and Yugoslavs of the second generation) were asked whether they have personally ever experienced discrimination in different areas of life, namely in the educational system, when trying to get an apprenticeship or a job, whilst in employment and in other situations of life.

*Table 16: Subjectively perceived discrimination in the Educational System by Group*

<b>have experienced discrimination</b>	<b>Turkish CIM</b>	<b>in %</b>	<b>Former Yugoslavian CIM</b>	<b>in %</b>
<b>Yes</b>	85	30.1	51	18.1
<b>No</b>	197	69.9	230	81.9
<b>Total</b>	282	100.0	281	100.0

To the question “Have you ever been discriminated at school or university because of your ethnic origin?” 85 of the 282 young Turks (30.1 %) answered Yes and 197 (69.9 %) said No. Among the 281 young people from the former Yugoslavia 51 (18.1 %) answered Yes and 230 (81.9 %) said No. The main problems in the educational system are verbal abuses by other pupils and teachers, unjustified treatment by teachers and lack of support for the educational career of the respondents (vgl. Worbs, 2001, S. 303).

### ***Evaluation of integration processes in Frankfurt am Main:***

In the Frankfurt study the immigrants were also explicitly asked questions on discrimination and whether they had personally experienced it in Frankfurt because of their foreign origin or because of the colour of their skin. In addition, they were asked whether they have been verbally abused or physically attacked because of their ethnic origin or skin colour. 90 per cent of the interviewees said that they have never been attacked because of their ethnic origin or their skin colour. 6.6 % have experienced that rarely, 3 % occasionally. A much larger number of the interviewed persons has experienced weaker forms of discriminating treatment. More than half of the interviewed persons have been affected by general discrimination (54.9%) and as much as more than a third (36.1%) has been exposed to verbal abuses.

The following table lists the institutions or situations in which the interviewed persons have experienced discrimination. Differentiating according to the *sex ratio* shows in addition to that that mostly males are affected by discrimination experiences caused by the police. Also

the problem of being stopped when entering a night club is clearly male-specific. These two forms of discrimination are mostly named by male migrants. Female migrants, however, often perceive discrimination when approaching administrative bodies or when looking for a place to rent. In third place discrimination experiences in schools were reported.

*Table 17: Institutions and situations in which discrimination has been experienced (multiple answers in per cent)*

	<b>Migrants in total</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>
Administrative body	37.5	37.2	37.7
Police	34.8	50.8	14.1
Looking for place to rent	33.5	30.8	37.7
School	32.4	28.8	37.2
Work place	31.5	36.4	25.1
In public transport	30.1	26.8	34.0
Looking for a job	28.8	31.6	26.2
Nightclub	26.6	43.6	5.2
Others	22.8	22.8	23.6

*Source: efms-Repräsentativbefragung 2000*

The extent to which *individual groups of migrants* are affected by discrimination, verbal insults or racist violence varies considerably. This can be seen from a comparison of the distribution of answers of the two largest ethnic groups. Whereas interviewed persons from countries of (the former) Yugoslavia reported discrimination and racism experiences with below average frequency, the values for the Turkish interviewed persons are largely above average. In the Turkish group every eighth person “often” subjectively perceived discrimination and every eighteenth reported that he or she has been “verbally abused frequently”.

While in the studies described above the interviewees were questioned about their subjectively perceived discrimination, which mostly happens as individual discrimination by classmates or teachers, another approach raises the question whether also the school as an institution discriminates against migrants. After all, school statistics clearly show a differing educational participation and differing school success between German and non-German children.

### ***Research study on institutional discrimination in school (Gomolla 1998; Gomolla/Radtke2002)***

This approach has been adopted by Gomolla and Radtke. They formulate the hypothesis: “A not insignificant part of inequality in educational participation of German compared to non-German pupils [...] *cannot* be attributed to the children’s characteristics or migration-related disadvantages regarding their starting point, but is generated by the organisation school itself” [own translation]“ (Gomolla/Radtke 2002, S. 16f.). The research focuses on the question whether institutional discrimination happens in school. Institutional discrimination is defined

here as discrimination “that emerges as effect of ‘normal’ structures and practices of a number of social institutions and organisations” [own translation] (ibid., 15).

Researching this the authors didn’t compare individual population groups (e.g. German and non-German grammar school pupils), but development trends within organisations, focusing on specific characteristics of various groups (e.g. the development of the number of German pupils in special needs schools (*Sonderschulen*) of a school district within a certain period, compared to the development of the numbers of non-German pupils at special needs schools within the same time period). As soon as the quota in a longitudinal perspective differ from each other considerably, there is a need for explaining that. It should be examined whether the reasons for these differences can be traced back to the development of collective changes in characteristics in the respective groups or whether the differing developments might be attributed to other causes, such as variable treatment in school.<sup>27</sup>

The authors reach the conclusion that there are *three intersections* in school where discrimination happens.

### ***1. Starting school:***

Migrant children have a higher risk of being turned down for starting school and being sent back to the school kindergarten for another year. The reasons given for delaying the start of schooling are mainly bilingualism and deficits in German language skills. The authors consider this direct discrimination as attending the school kindergarten does not have the main objective of improving the language skills. On the other hand these proceedings are considered indirect discrimination as children with deficits in German language skills are more thoroughly tested whether they are ready for school as it is usually the case. Also lacking kindergarten attendance apparently generally leads to the diagnosis that additional tuition before starting school is needed.

### ***2. Allocation to special needs schools:***

The second area where institutional discrimination happens in school is the allocation to special needs schools: Previous supportive measures (e.g. extended attendance of the school kindergarten) can have a negative effect for children from migrant families retrospectively as the previous supportive needs are considered as an indicator for current supportive needs; in addition, the children are too old for primary school and would interfere with the school classes’ homogeneity. Moreover, it should actually be ensured in the entrance examination for special needs school that lacking German language skills are not the causes of existing learning difficulties. According to Gomolla and Radtke this guideline is often evaded, however.

### ***3. Transition from primary school to a secondary school:***

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<sup>27</sup> As a case study the education system of a large city with widely differentiated school types and with a significantly high number of non-German pupils was chosen. In total 20 schools (10 primary schools, one special school, all three comprehensive schools and two schools of the secondary school types respectively) were examined. In the research design quantitative and qualitative approaches were combined: Beside an examination of the education statistics to detect potential changes in the types of schools or in the educational participation, and a document analysis (e.g. expert reports in special schools) expert interviews were carried out. The research was carried out for 1980-1990.

Regarding the transition to the secondary school level Gomolla (1998, page 137f.) describes two mechanisms of institutional discrimination. On the one hand, there is the recommendation to send migrant children to comprehensive schools on principle (the decision for a certain school type does not have to be made by the primary school teacher then); on the other hand 'newcomers entering education at a later stage' (*Seiteneinsteiger*) are sent to preparatory and collective classes that mostly exist at the *Hauptschule* only. Beside that direct discrimination one can also assume indirect discrimination: Migrant children are often denied recommendations for grammar school attendance, despite good marks. As reasons latent language problems, anticipated lack of support by the parents and too few social integration in the German-speaking social environment are given.

Conclusively it can be stated that Gomolla and Radtke indeed point out intersections in the German education system which might cause discrimination frequently. However, the authors describe these disadvantages for migrant children as the result of organisational operating and functional interests of individual schools<sup>28</sup> (e.g. homogeneous classes), organisational differentiations of the school (e.g. special needs school for children with learning difficulties, supportive classes) as well as the result of individual preferential decisions and the involved parties' professional styles to act.

A clear distinction of ***individual and institutional discrimination*** would have to be made here. For that reason it should also be discussed to what extent distinctive features of individual schools or the behaviour of certain teachers as well as school headmasters cause discrimination against pupils from migrant families, before one raises the question of institutional discrimination in schools.

## 5.2 Xenophobia

While the studies mentioned above tried to research subtle forms of discrimination, too, by asking the question on subjectively perceived discrimination or by a critical analysis of seemingly neutral regulations, there are a few studies available which focus on evident discrimination (e.g. in form of xenophobic incidents) in schools.<sup>29</sup>

As far as we know publications of official statistics on ***xenophobic incidents*** in schools do hardly exist. Only within a question to the town parliament of the city of Hamburg on the topic "Influence of extreme right-wing organisations on pupils, youths and students in Hamburg (Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2001) incidents with extreme

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<sup>28</sup> It has to be mentioned that certain organisational operating and functional interests of the school might possibly have positive effects on the integration of migrant children. If a school has to make sure that it attracts a sufficient number of pupils it might possibly happen that this school accepts migrant children to an increased extent in order to ensure the necessary overall number of pupils.

<sup>29</sup> It should be mentioned here that xenophobic attitudes might cause discrimination, but a causal connection between prejudices and discrimination does not necessarily exist. Somebody who is prejudiced against foreigners might treat a non-German classmate respectfully, because this is in accordance with the general manner within class and he subordinates the prejudice to the integration in class. This occurrence, however, could also happen in reverse: A pupil who does not have a xenophobic attitude might be forced to discrimination actions by group pressure (cf.e.g. Farley 1988, p. 40ff.; Heckmann 1992, p. 125ff.).

right-wing background at schools in Hamburg were included. Based on police statistics 33 extreme right-wing incidents in schools as scenes of crime were determined from 1997 to 2000, 30 of them being so-called propaganda crimes though. Much more shocking numbers were provided by a statistic by the Ministry of Education in Brandenburg which was collected in 2001 for the first time: At the schools in Brandenburg almost 190 incidents with extreme right-wing and xenophobic background were registered (cf. Berliner Zeitung 2001).

*Table 18: Xenophobic incidents in schools in Brandenburg:*

Type of incident	Number
Bodily harm	4
Threat	15
Usage of badges of unconstitutional organisations	78
Incitement of the people	61
Wilful damage to property	28
Total number of xenophobic and extreme right-wing incidents	186

Table 18 illustrates that in Brandenburg the majority of incidents with xenophobic and extreme right-wing background were so-called propaganda crimes, too, but that in almost 20 cases the victims were threatened or even hurt. For other federal states, unfortunately, there are no comparable data available. If one compares the data of Hamburg and Brandenburg though, and includes in addition the numbers of the Criminal Investigation Registration Service - Politically Motivated Criminality in the year 2001 which shows the highest numbers for Brandenburg (see for more details Rühl 2002) as well as the fact that there are more xenophobic attitudes in eastern Germany (see e.g. Angermeyer/Brähler 2001, Würtz 2000), one can assume that the high numbers of Brandenburg are not representative for Germany as a whole. Regular registration and publication of xenophobic incidents in school would be desirable in all federal states.

### ***Research on xenophobia in schools (Würtz 2000)***

Würtz also focuses in her research on the question if and why xenophobia happens in German schools. She does not look at xenophobic violence, but at causes and quantitative proportions of xenophobia and the various images young people have about people of other ethnic backgrounds. The project did not aim at formulating differentiated statistical statements on the quantitative proportions of xenophobic attitudes, but it was the objective to identify the way young people view the problem (cf. *ibid.*, p. 132). As a research method 27 group discussions with pupils (partly complete classes, partly groups across classes such as class spokesmen or particularly problematic pupils) and 13 group discussions with teachers were carried out. The results can assist further research as well-founded hypotheses:

- Xenophobia in schools in ***East Germany*** is higher than in schools in West Germany; there seems to be a gap between pupils along political views of „Left“ and „Right“.

- Xenophobia varies according to *type of school and level of education*: There is a tendency that these attitudes occur less frequently at vocational schools, *Realschule* and *Gymnasium* and more at *Hauptschule*, East-German regular schools and special needs schools. There are, however, exceptions due to specific factors of the environment and the catchment area of schools, so that schools in more demanding educational tracks are also affected by xenophobia.
- The *number of migrants and the development of the migrant population* can influence the atmosphere at German schools. As general tendencies one can note: Residential facilities for asylum seekers and ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*) in the immediate vicinity of schools generally contribute to increased fears of local people and their anger on migrants. Particularly in the case of an increasing number of non-German pupils, who might be temporary, but quantitatively important, strong xenophobic attitudes of the German classmates could be noted.
- Würtz assumes that possibly the „*Common sense*“ is impaired when interaction with foreigners or the unknowns becomes necessary. To cause this impairing the presence of this foreign or unknown in the media seems to be sufficient. However, Würtz point out that the respective “Common sense” is not rigid, but subject to negotiations and might even be negotiated with the foreigners and unknown themselves. Problems of these joint negotiations are possible communication difficulties due to the migrants’ language deficits and on the other hand the lacking opportunity of such negotiations, as it is the case in East Germany (cf. *ibid.* p.242ff.).
- According to Würzt, the following additional causes of xenophobic attitudes can be noted: *Supposed competition*, the perception that foreigners would *be treated preferentially* compared to Germans (e.g. exaggerated supportive measures for integration by teachers) and perceived *dissociation by the migrants* (e.g. by speaking in the mother tongue).

### ***Research on the relevance of factors in school on right-wing extremism***

In their research Krüger and Pfaff (2001) do not raise the question to what extent pupils (at the moment) are xenophobic, but they want to present long-term developments and the relevance of factors in school (atmosphere, school organisation) for right-wing extremism. To approach this research question xenophobic attitudes at various schools in Saxony-Anhalt were gathered at three consecutive points of time (1993, 1997, 2000). In addition, the authors compared data on school organisation (e.g. type of school) in order to identify potential differences between highly affected and less affected schools. Finally two schools were analysed in greater detail (one with high, one with low xenophobia) by group discussions.

The following results were recorded: Like Würtz the authors noted that the *type of school* is an important predicate to what degree a school is affected by xenophobia, although they point out that this might also correlate with the pupils’ age as the researched phenomena decrease in higher years (cf. *ibid.* p. 19). As a tendency also *regional differences* (rural schools are more affected than urban schools) as well as differences in the *level of education* (schools with a lower education level are more affected, e.g. schools with business training versus vocational preparation) are important. This, however, is not a sufficient explanation, as it can be seen in one researched school, which has an unfavourable location and type of school, but

is not affected to a high degree by xenophobia. For that reason Krüger and Pfaff also analysed differences concerning the *school atmosphere and school-cultural differences*, for example dimensions of interaction, teacher-pupil-relationships, concrete forms of the lessons, subjective feelings in the social relationship in schools as well as emphatic pupil-oriented action of the teachers. They reach the conclusion that the inclusion of pupils in decisions on questions of arranging school life as well as the significance and impact of committee work of pupils are important aspects to oppose xenophobia in school (cf. *ibid.*, p. 20). Authoritarian actions by teachers or missing mediation potential in school, however, seem to have a negative impact.

## 6 Good Practice

Also in the area of education there is a number of (official and non-governmental) organisations, initiatives and associations, that deal with the topics xenophobia, racism and anti-Semitism and try to contribute to the fight against this phenomenon with a wide range of good practice. The *numerous measures against discrimination and xenophobia in school* can be categorised in a simplified way in the following areas: Measures I pre-schooling, measures in school (Intercultural Education and Education for Tolerance on the one hand, special measures for pupils with migration background on the other hand), measures to promote vocational training for young people with a non-German origin as well as measures in further and adult education for teachers. Target groups of these measures are therefore not only pupils with migration background, but also German pupils and trainees, teachers and educators as well as, to some extent, the parents of children and young people with migration background.

In the following selected measures in the above-mentioned areas will be described in more detail.

### 6.1 Measures in pre-school

Regarding supportive measures for migrant children in pre-schooling initiatives that also include the children's parents have proved to be effective. The best-known initiative in this area is surely the *HIPPY Programme* (Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters).

HIPPY is an international approach that is offered in many German cities by now (e.g. Berlin, Bremen, Munich, Nuremberg), mostly offered by charitable organisations. The programme comprises *assistance at home* for non-German *pre-school children* from four to six and their *mothers*. The mothers shall be encouraged to learn German at home with their children, firstly, in order to prepare them better for school and secondly in order to improve their own language skills. It is often difficult to reach migrant women with measures that take place outside their home. For that reason HIPPY counts on volunteering women (mostly also with migrant background and the respective mother tongue) who are trained and supported by qualified experts of the funding organisation. The volunteering woman visits the mother participating in the programme once a week. She brings along the teaching material for the following week and explains it. The mothers busy their children about 15 minutes per day with the material provided by HIPPY. HIPPY is carried out in coherent learning units and consecutive learning steps corresponding with the development of the child and promoting it

in a lasting way. During the weekly meetings with the volunteer or in regular meetings with other mothers participating in the programme experiences can be exchanged and problems can be discussed. Consequently HIPPY at best does not only improve the mothers' and children's *language skills*, but does also promote (additional) *social contacts* for the mothers. The long-term objective of the programme is therefore to improve the opportunities of a successful integration in school, vocational training and in social relationships.

## 6.2 Measures in school

Within school various types of measures can be noted aiming at fighting xenophobia and discrimination. These are, on the one hand, measures that aim at all pupils and that are supposed to promote tolerance and a peaceful co-existence of different cultures. This area can be summarised with the terms Intercultural Education/ Education for Tolerance. On the other hand though there are explicit measures within the education system that are aimed at migrant children and migrant youths, providing support for them.

### 6.2.1 Measures of Intercultural Education / Education for Tolerance

In the project "School without Racism – School with Courage" („*Schule ohne Rassismus – Schule mit Courage*“) which is co-ordinated by Aktioncourage e.V. children and young people shall be made strong against xenophobic attitudes and their awareness for democracy shall be promoted. The basic idea here, too, is that especially in childhood and adolescence important patterns of thinking and acting develop, and consequently anti-racist work should start at an early age. The idea for this initiative originated in Belgium in the 1980s and has been carried out in Germany by Aktioncourage e.V. since 1995. The programme is supported by the Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs with funds from the European Social Fund.

The project's objectives are **sensitising** young people for all forms of discrimination and racism as well as **promoting their commitment** for integration and equal opportunities. In addition, the project supports children's and young peoples' humane and democratic patterns of acting and thinking and tries to reduce racist tendencies and violence lastingly.

In order to be awarded the title "School without Racism" it is required that at least 70% of all the persons who learn or work at a school commit themselves with their signature that it will become a central task in their school to develop initiatives and project against violence, discrimination and racism. The pupils receive a starting set, which includes all the necessary information on the project. Furthermore, they are assisted by a **co-operation network**. This provides ideas and assistance for the young people, but also for the educators and key personnel in developing their activities. The special feature of the project is that the development of ideas for initiatives and their implementation are in the hands of the pupils. They experience via "School without Racism" a wide range of assistance. This does not only refer to important characteristics of intercultural competence, democratic awareness and participation in society, but also to independent and responsible planning and implementation of ideas and therefore accompanying qualification (e.g. for internet, public relations, documentation, management, art) and team work. It should also be mentioned here that a



celebrity represents the school participating in the programme and takes part in the awarding ceremony.

In the meantime 123 German schools have been awarded the title „Schools without Racism“. At the moment the project co-ordinators try to encourage more East German schools to participate in the programme. The project received several awards, such as the Buber-Rosenzweig Medal of the Association for Christian-Jewish Co-operation (Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit) in 2001. Further information on “School without Racism – School with Courage “ can be found at <http://www.actioncourage.de>.

Beside measures in schools that generally aim against racism and xenophobia and that want to provide education for tolerance there are also projects in schools that explicitly want to fight **anti-Semitism**. This is of particular importance as in other areas (e.g. on the labour market) anti-Semitism is hardly perceived as a separate problem. As an example we would like to point out a brochure by the Commissioner for Foreigners of the Senate in Berlin (2001) in which various examples for project and material from schools in Berlin is presented.

### 6.2.2 Measures for the integration of migrants within schools

As presented in chapter 2.2 there are regulations in all federal states for the provision of certain supportive measures intended for pupils of non-German origin. It is true that these measures are carried out with the intention to make the integration in the German education system easier for children and youths with migration background, but they are rarely considered sufficient to achieve these objectives.

It is therefore not surprising that there are a number of additional measures within schools, intended to assist migrant in their everyday life in school. These initiatives are sometimes proposed by committed teachers, social workers, but also by the pupils’ parents. As an example for an initiative which has been active for quite a while in providing support for non-German children in schools the *Network of Regional Offices for Foreigners’ Affairs (Netzwerk von Regionalen Arbeitsstellen für Ausländerfragen (RAA))* could be mentioned. In West Germany 29 of these Offices have been established meanwhile and also in the new federal states 17 of these facilities have been founded by now. The various Regional Offices as well as further associated projects co-operate in a Federal Association. Whereas the organisations in West Germany mainly focus on the fostering of integration of immigrated children and youths, the main emphasis in East Germany is on combating xenophobia and on measures for Intercultural Education (further tasks of the RAA can be found at <http://www.raa.de/>).

Beside such larger networks there is also a number of smaller initiatives that have managed to establish co-operations in the regional context as well as in city districts. As an example we will introduce a project to promote the integration of ethnic German youths (*Aussiedlerjugendliche*) which developed from a *Parents’ Initiative for Aussiedler (Aussiedler-Elterninitiative)*

The project “*New People of Marzahn*” („*Neue Marzahner*“) is located at the Thuringia secondary school in Berlin-Marzahn and is financed by the federal schools inspector of Berlin. The project’s objective is the improvement of integration opportunities of young

ethnic Germans in school as well as assistance for the transition into a vocational career. In addition, the communication between locals and immigrants shall be improved. The project objectives are supposed to be achieved by several measures: Social training for youths, leisure time programmes, assistance and support in cases of learning difficulties, accompanying and assistance in the search of apprenticeships, provision of the information course for parents “Our School”. The project activities are supported by a close network of youth and school social work as well as by the Rotary Club Berlin-Nord and Berlin-Gendarmenmarkt as well as by the Foundation of Berlin Citizens (Bürgerstiftung Berlin). In the meantime the number of Russian-German pupils who get an opportunity to reach the A-level has been increased to 40% at the Thuringia secondary school whereas the share in the rest of Berlin amounts to 4% (cf. Bertelsmann Stiftung 2002, p. 15).

### 6.3 Measures for vocational training of migrants

As presented in chapter 4.1.4 there are a number of programmes that motivate (disadvantaged) youths to start a vocational training, that assist them in the search of apprenticeships and that support them during the vocational training. One of the problems of measures that are explicitly aimed at youths with migration background is that special needs (e.g. language deficits) cannot be addressed sufficiently as the problems are very complex. For that reason there is also a number of measures that are directly addressed at youths with non-German origin. As an example the programme ***“Promoting competences – Vocational qualification for target groups with special needs for support”*** („*Kompetenzen fördern – Berufliche Qualifizierung für Zielgruppen mit besonderem Förderbedarf*“) can be mentioned that was developed by the Alliance for Labour, Qualification and Competitiveness (*Bündnis für Arbeit, Ausbildung und Wettbewerbsfähigkeit*) and which is implemented by the Federal Ministry for Education and Research. This programme includes four innovation areas; the fourth innovation area deals with the improvement of vocational qualification opportunities for migrants and in particular tries to increase the number of migrants participating in vocational qualification. The term ‘migrant’ was deliberately used when formulating the fourth innovation area in order to include ethnic Germans as well as naturalised youths with migration background in the programme.

The programme aims particularly at promoting **networks** as “experiences show that a fundamental improvement regarding the qualification situation of migrants can only be achieved if forces are joined locally” [own translation] (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung 2001c, p. 16). Modelling on the “Counselling Centres for the Qualification of foreign Trainees” (*Beratungsstellen zur Qualifizierung ausländischer Nachwuchskräfte* (BQN)) that have been successfully implemented in a pilot project, co-operation networks will be established nationwide with the objective to increase the number of migrants in vocational qualification. The task of the counselling centres is not only to provide advice for migrant youths, but the BQN shall “function as the central focal points and initiative centres on the regional/ local level for everything that might contribute to improve the qualification situation of migrants” [own translation] (ibid., p. 17). In these networks all the relevant key organisations in vocational training and migration work shall be included, e.g. vocational schools, administration and job centres, companies, educational institutions and also migrant organisations as well as migrant social workers. The activities of the local networks is

supported and co-ordinated by the federal level. For that reason an *“Initiative Office Vocational Qualification for Migrants”* („*Initiativstelle Berufliche Qualifizierung von Migrantinnen und Migranten*”) has been established at the Federal Institute for Vocational Training (BIBB).

Beside measures that are explicitly aimed at youths there are a number of measures in vocational training with the objective of increasing the number of companies run by migrants that offer apprenticeships, and these should also be mentioned here. One example is the project *“Migrants create additional apprenticeships”* (*Migranten schaffen zusätzliche Lehrstellen*) which is funded by the Turkish Community in Schleswig-Holstein e.V. in Kiel (see for further details Bertelsmann Stiftung 2002 as well as

<http://www.tgsh.de/deutsch/projekte/ausbildungsprojekt/ausbildungsprojekt.html>).

#### **6.4 Measures for adult and further education for educators/ key personnel**

One aspect that is always emphasised as being important when promoting tolerance and democracy as well as combating right-wing extremism and xenophobia in schools is further education for educators and key personnel. This concerns, on the one hand, the area *German as a Second Language*, on the other hand the implementation of the principle *“Intercultural Education”* in all lessons as well as the right way to deal with xenophobic tendencies in school. It is true that a number of federal states offer courses within the general adult and further education programmes that deal with this topic (see for more details Gogolin/Neumann/Reuter 2001), but these courses can often only touch on this topic superficially due to their short duration and are, in addition, mostly not obligatory.

In the meantime, however, there are a number of initiatives, often initiated by committed teachers, that intend to compensate for this deficit. As an example the project *“Educating Democracy and Tolerance”* of the Bertelsmann Foundation can be mentioned that was started in 1995. It is project’s objective to make a “lasting contribution to the promotion of a culture of tolerance, non-violence and democratic co-existence” (Bertelsmann Stiftung/ Bertelsmann Forschungsgruppe Politik 2001, p. 10). To implement that the *training programme “A world of diversity”* developed by the Anti Defamation League was adapted to the German school lessons. It addresses teachers of classes up to the tenth form. The teachers are familiarised with the methodological approach as well as with contents and structure of the training programme in further education seminars. With the assistance of the interactive teaching material the pupils shall learn to perceive cultural diversity, to reflect the own cultural socialisation and to experience differences as challenge and valuable addition. Moreover, they shall learn to understand the nature of prejudices and discrimination and their consequences in individuals and groups and shall develop strategies to fight prejudices and discrimination. More information on this project can be found at [www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de](http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de).

With a similar objective the project *“Viewpoint – Educators against Right-wing Extremism”* is carried out. The project was initiated by teachers in Berlin and is carried out in co-operation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Centre for Democratic Culture (ZDK). It is financially supported by the Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband, the Association of Victims of the Nazi regime and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. The core of the project is a *series of*

*seminars* in which the teachers, firstly, receive information on the causes of xenophobia as well as on the organisation, world view and everyday life of right-wing extremist youth. Secondly, the right way of dealing with right-wing extremist youth in class or in the school yard is practiced and teaching material is developed. From the following school year onwards a teacher in every school district will be appointed *expert on right wing extremism*. This expert consults the other schools in the district and is the person to contact for his colleagues. The further education seminar is attended by the teachers mostly during school vacations. For the teachers working as experts on right-wing extremism in future a reduction of their obligatory teaching duties is currently being discussed.

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## Appendix: Tables

*Table 19: Foreign nationals and total population of Germany 1991 - 2001*

year	total population <sup>1</sup>	foreign population <sup>1</sup>	percentage of foreign nationals	change in foreign population (in %) <sup>2</sup>
1991 <sup>3</sup>	80,274,600	5,882,267	7.3	-
1992	80,974,600	6,495,792	8.0	+10.4
1993	81,338,100	6,878,117	8.5	+5.9
1994	81,538,600	6,990,510	8.6	+1.6
1995	81,817,500	7,173,866	8.8	+2.6
1996	82,012,200	7,314,046	8.9	+2.0
1997	82,057,400	7,365,833	9.0	+0.7
1998	82,037,000	7,319,593	8.9	-0.6
1999	82,163,500	7,343,591	8.9	+0.3
2000	82,259,500	7,296,817	8.9	-0.6
2001	82,440,400	7,318,628	8.9	+0.3

Source: Federal Statistical Office

1) as of 31<sup>st</sup> December. Registered as foreigners are all persons who do not possess the German nationality (including stateless persons and persons whose nationality is not clear). Persons with multiple citizenship, who are nationals both of Germany and an additional country, are registered as German citizens.

2) annual change, i.e. compared to previous year.

3) since 31<sup>st</sup> December 1991, data refers to German territory as of 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1990.

*Table 20: Non-German Residents in Germany according to the main nationalities 1990 - 2001*

	Total	Turkey	Yugoslavia <sup>2</sup>	Italy	Greece	Poland	Croatia	Bosnia-Herzegovina	others
1990	5,342,532	1,694,649	662,691	552,440	320,181	242,013	-	-	1,870,558
1991 <sup>1</sup>	5,882,267	1,779,586	775,082	560,090	336,893	271,198	-	-	2,159,418
1992	6,495,792	1,854,945	915,636	557,709	345,902	285,553	82,516	19,904	2,433,627
1993	6,878,117	1,918,400	929,647	563,009	351,976	260,514	153,146	139,126	2,562,299
1994	6,990,510	1,965,577	834,781	571,900	355,583	263,381	176,251	249,383	2,573,654
1995	7,173,866	2,014,311	797,754	586,089	359,556	276,753	185,122	316,024	2,638,257
1996	7,314,046	2,049,060	754,311	599,429	362,539	283,356	201,923	340,526	2,722,902
1997	7,365,833	2,107,426	721,029	607,868	363,202	283,312	206,554	281,380	2,609,986
1998	7,319,593	2,110,223	719,474	612,048	363,514	283,604	208,909	190,119	2,831,702
1999	7,343,591	2,053,564	737,204	615,900	364,354	291,673	213,954	167,690	2,899,252
2000	7,296,817	1,998,534	662,495	619,060	365,438	301,366	216,827	156,294	2,976,803
2001	7,318,628	1,947,938	627,523	616,282	362,708	310,432	223,819	159,042	3,070,884

Source: Federal Statistical Office

1) since 1991, data refers to German territory as of 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1990.

2) Yugoslavia in 1992 comprises Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro, from 1993 only Serbia and Montenegro.

Table 21: German and foreign pupils at schools providing a general education according to type and gender 2001/2002 (in %)

	Total = 100		Germans = 100		Foreigners = 100	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>schools providing general education</b>	50.8	49.2	50.7	49.3	51.7	48.3
<i>Of which</i>						
<b>primary schools</b>	51.0	49.0	51.0	49.0	51.2	48.8
<b>secondary schools</b>	56.3	43.7	56.8	43.2	54.0	46.0
<b>special schools</b>	63.6	36.4	64.1	35.9	60.6	39.4
<b>Realschulen</b>	49.1	50.9	49.2	50.8	47.9	52.1
<b>grammar schools</b>	45.5	54.5	45.5	54.5	45.9	54.1
<b>comprehensive schools</b>	51.6	48.4	51.8	48.2	49.9	50.1
<b>other</b>	52.5	47.5	52.5	47.5	52.7	47.3

Source: Federal Statistical Office, Series 11, Issue 1, 2001/2002, own calculation

Table 22: Qualification achieved by Germans and foreigners upon leaving schools providing a general education in 2000/01 according to gender

Type of qualification	Total				Germans				Foreigners			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	absolute	%	absolute	%	absolute	%	absolute	%	absolute	%	absolute	%
<b>Without Hauptschule qualification</b>	56,492	11.9	31,964	7.0	46,980	10.8	26,376	6.3	9,512	24.4	5,588	15.8
<b>Hauptschule qualification</b>	135,157	28.6	100,797	22.2	119,276	27.5	86,890	20.8	15,881	40.7	13,907	39.3
<b>GCSE</b>	182,351	38.5	194,661	42.9	172,298	39.7	183,144	43.8	10,053	25.8	11,517	32.6
<b>A-level</b>	99,265	21.0	126,024	27.8	95,676	22.0	121,690	29.1	3,589	9.2	4,334	12.3
<b>Total</b>	473,265	100	453,446	100	434,230	100	418,100	100	39,035	100	35,346	100

Source: Federal Statistical Office, Series 11, Issue 1, 2001/2002, own calculation

Table 23: Qualification achieved by Germans and foreigners upon leaving schools providing a general education in 2000/01 according to federal states (in %)<sup>1</sup>

Federal state	Without Hauptschule qualification		Hauptschule qualification		GCSE		A-Level	
	Germans	Foreigners	Germans	Foreigners	Germans	Foreigners	Germans	Foreigners
Baden-Württemberg	6.3	21.4	29.7	54.7	39.2	23.1	24.8	0.8
Bavaria	8.6	27.9	35.2	46.4	36.1	19.5	20.1	6.3
Berlin	8.9	24.0	20.2	32.0	38.3	30.8	32.5	13.2
Brandenburg <sup>2</sup>	8.9	7.6	19.5	13.9	43.5	31.1	28.1	47.4
Bremen	7.9	18.9	18.5	33.6	41.6	33.8	32.0	13.7
Hamburg	10.9	19.7	22.6	33.7	28.7	29.6	37.8	17.0
Hesse	7.9	20.0	22.0	37.8	39.1	29.4	31.0	12.8
Mecklenburg-West Pomerania <sup>2,3</sup>	13.6	27.4	26.6	29.0	57.7	41.9	2.1	1.6
Lower Saxony <sup>2</sup>	8.9	27.4	22.5	29.4	44.1	33.6	24.5	9.6
North Rhine Westphalia	5.9	13.6	20.2	33.9	41.2	36.0	32.7	16.4
Rhineland Palatinate	8.4	23.2	31.1	50.8	35.8	20.1	24.7	5.9
Saarland	7.0	17.7	30.3	52.0	35.4	18.9	27.2	11.3
Saxony <sup>2</sup>	10.9	24.6	10.9	13.8	52.9	53.1	25.3	8.5
Saxony – Anhalt <sup>2,3</sup>	17.9	27.9	14.9	22.4	65.3	45.6	1.9	4.1
Schleswig - Holstein	10.4	21.9	34.2	50.6	31.6	18.8	23.8	8.6
Thuringia <sup>2</sup>	12.3	38.4	18.1	24.0	43.2	31.2	26.3	6.4

Source: Federal Statistical Office, Series 11, Issue 1, 2001/2002, own calculation

<sup>1</sup> Share of German/foreign school-leavers at a certain school providing general education compared to the total number of German/foreign school-leavers according to federal state, for 2001

<sup>2</sup> The absolute number of foreign pupils in the new federal states is very small. This has to be considered interpreting the data for the new federal states.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction of the 13<sup>th</sup> grade

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Table 24: Graduates and others leaving vocational schools in 2000/01 according to gender

Those leaving	Total				Germans				Foreigners			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	absolute	%	absolute	%	absolute	%	absolute	%	absolute	%	absolute	%
<b>With leaving certificate<sup>1</sup></b>	128,700	23.1	92,800	19.0	108,300	21.3	78,500	17.5	20,400	41.4	14,300	35.8
<b>With qualification</b>	427,900	76.9	396,800	81.0	399,100	78.6	371,000	82.5	28,800	58.4	25,800	64.5
<b>Graduates/leavers in total</b>	556,600	100	489,600	100	507,600	100	449,600	100	49,300	100	40,000	100

Source: Federal Statistical Office, Series 11, Issue 2, 2001/2002, own calculation

1) A leaving certificate is given when the aim of the respective level of education is not attained (without completing the vocational training)

Table 25: Apprentices in Germany from 1999 to 2001 according to gender (in %)

year	Total = 100		Germans = 100		Foreigners = 100	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>1999</b>	59.5	40.5	59.5	40.5	60.3	39.7
<b>2000</b>	59.1	40.9	59.2	40.8	59.0	41.0
<b>2001</b>	59.0	41.0	59.0	41.0	58.0	42.0

Source: Federal Statistical Office, Series 11, Issue 3, 2001/2002, own calculation

Table 26: German and foreign students according to gender from the winter term (WS) 1997/98 to the winter term 2001/02 (in %)

Term	Total = 100		Germans = 100		Foreigners = 100	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>WS 1997/98</b>	56.4	43.6	56.4	43.6	56.9	43.1
<b>WS 1998/99</b>	55.5	44.5	55.5	44.5	55.6	44.4
<b>WS 1999/00</b>	54.7	45.3	54.7	45.3	54.5	45.5
<b>WS 2000/01</b>	53.9	46.1	54.0	46.0	53.4	46.6
<b>WS 2001/02</b>	53.3	46.7	53.4	46.6	52.3	47.7

Source: Federal Statistical Office, Series 11, Issue 4, 2001/2002, own calculation

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Table 27: The 12 most important countries of origin of studying „educational nationals” (Bildungsinländer) in winter term 2001/02

	Total	Male		Female	
		absolute	%	absolute	%
<b>Bildungsinländer in total</b>	63,355	36,438	57.5	26,917	42.5
<b>Of those</b>					
<b>Turkey</b>	18,853	11,165	59.2	7,688	40.8
<b>Former Yugoslavia</b>	8,264	4,674	56.6	3,590	43.4
<b>Greece</b>	4,060	2,268	55.9	1,792	44.1
<b>Italy</b>	3,155	1,853	58.7	1,302	41.3
<b>Iran</b>	2,828	1,893	66.9	935	33.1
<b>Austria</b>	2,240	1,334	59.6	906	40.4
<b>Poland</b>	2,109	930	44.1	1,179	55.9
<b>Republic of Korea</b>	1,415	620	43.8	795	56.2
<b>Spain</b>	1,650	899	54.5	751	45.5
<b>Russian Federation</b>	1,285	623	48.5	662	51.5
<b>Morocco</b>	1,195	963	80.6	232	19.4
<b>Portugal</b>	1,108	580	52.3	528	47.7

Source: Federal Statistical Office, Series 11, Issue 4, 2001/2002, own calculation